

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

HELEN M. COCKLE

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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PREFACE

THE literary content of this volume centres on philosophy (a new scrap of Antiphon, selected adespota, and all the unpublished papyri of Plato so far identified in the Egypt Exploration Society's holdings), and on dramatic hypotheses, of which that to Sophocles' *Niobe* (3653) has a special interest. Among the documents we note the extensive Sale and Cession of Catoecic Land (3690-1), and a fine example of Latin cursive (3692). The contributors are various (it is a particular pleasure to thank our Italian colleagues, Professor Carlini and Dr Funghi; their scripts have been Englished by Mr Parsons); but the great bulk of the texts, and all the indexes, we owe to Dr Helen Cockle, who has revised the editions contained in her doctoral thesis (London, 1981) and added further material.

That thesis had Sir Eric Turner as its supervisor. It was, sadly, his last; he retired in 1978, and died on 20 April 1983. Turner was the second founder of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*; for more than twenty years he directed their publication, and himself contributed texts of outstanding interest. This volume, with his portrait and a bibliography of his recent work, represents a formal tribute. But few readers will not have their private memories of the scholar and organizer of scholarship, as friend, teacher, or colleague.

P.J.P.
J.R.R.

April 1984

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
ERIC GARDNER TURNER
1981-3

(This bibliography completes that published in Papyri Greek and Egyptian edited in honour of
Eric Gardner Turner, Graeco-Roman Memoirs no. 68, 1981, p. xiii)

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(forthcoming)

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H.M.C.

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3658	Philosophical Treatise	DNS	3rd cent.	55
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3662	v 1-19	HMC	3rd cent.	72
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3664	Isocrates, <i>Paneg.</i> 14-15	HMC	3rd cent.	81
3665	106-112	HMC	3rd cent.	83
3666	Plato, <i>Alcibiades I</i> 113B, 132A-B	HMC	Later 2nd cent.	86
3667	[Plato], <i>Alcibiades II</i> 142B-3C	AC	3rd cent.	89
3668	[Plato], <i>Epistle</i> ii 310E-311A	WEHC	2nd cent.	91
3669	Plato, <i>Gorgias</i> 491B, 495C-E (addendum to 3156)	MWH	2nd cent.	92
3670	Plato, <i>Hippias Major</i> 291D-E	AC	2nd/3rd cent.	93
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AC = A. Carlini
HMC = H. M. Cockle
WEHC = W. E. H. Cockle
RAC = R. A. Coles
RLF = R. L. Fowler
MSF = M. S. Funghi

MAH = M. A. Harder
MWH = M. W. Haslam
DH = D. Hughes
PJP = P. J. Parsons
DNS = D. N. Sedley
EGT = E. G. Turner

LIST OF PLATES

I. 3647, 3652, 3656	V. 3653 fr. 2
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ^ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16* (1978) 64-5), except when they serve to distinguish the two sides of a page in a papyrus codex. In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI
PUBLISHED BY THE
EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

- I 85. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 246.
170. SB XIV 11700.
- II 371. SB XIV 11846.
- III 645. SB XIV 11899.
- IV 666 52-3. A. Carlini, *Studi classici e orientali*, 33 (1983) 335.
- VI 854. D. E. Gerber, *JCS* 6 (1981) 1-11.
889. T. D. Barnes, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 276-8.
904 1. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 246-7.
- IX 1175⁹¹. C. Nicolosi, *Sileno* 2 (1976) 99-105.
1208 23. For $\lambda\eta[\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma]$ restore $\lambda\eta[\mu\acute{\mu}\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma]$, see XLIX 3498 32. J. R. Rea.
1250. M. Laplace, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 53-9.
1317. SB XIV 11847.
- XII 1411. R. Bogaert, *Anagenesis* 3 (1983) 46-50.
1453. T. C. Skeat, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 241-4.
- XVI 1922 4. On $\beta\omega\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ see H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Wiener Studien* NF 17 (1983) 73-4.
6. For $\psi\epsilon\iota\alpha\rho\iota\omega\upsilon$ read $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omega\upsilon$ = $\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omega\upsilon$. R. A. Coles, *Wiener Studien* NF 17 (1983) 73-4, n. 17.
- XVII 2124 12-17. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 245-6.
- XVIII 2196 4. For $\delta\iota\alpha[\epsilon]\xi[\eta\rho\alpha\upsilon]$ read $\delta\iota\alpha\xi[\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\upsilon]$, see I 136 7, 11, 35, 42, 47, 51; esp. 47. J. R. Rea, prompted by J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 245 n. 1.
2204 5. After Κυαμῶνος insert $\kappa\alpha\iota \Phi.\nu\alpha$ (= $\Phi\acute{\nu}\alpha?$). R. A. Coles, in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 215.
- XXII 2340 introd. SB XIV 11976, but the better version is R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 233-4.
2347 15. S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 150-6, esp. 153.
2369 E. Livrea, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 40-2.
- XXIV 2406. H. Maehler, Häuser und ihre Bewohner im Fayum in der Kaiserzeit, Anhang III, in J. Grimm etc. (edd.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (= *Aegyptiaca Treverensia*, 2), pp. 136-7.
- XXVII 2455^{14,17}. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 43-4.
2455¹⁸. W. Luppe, *Anagenesis* 3 (1983) 125-42.
2471. R. Bogaert, *Anagenesis* 3 (1983) 33-5.
2476 6. Restore $\chi\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (= $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$) $\acute{\iota}\delta[\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \eta \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\upsilon\omega\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha, \mu\acute{\eta} \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\upsilon, \mu\acute{\eta} \kappa\alpha\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\upsilon$.
7. Restore $[\eta\eta] \epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.
8. Restore $\langle\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\rangle \delta\acute{\iota}\alpha \psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\varsigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu \pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota$.
9. Restore $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \beta\omega\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.
10. Restore $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta[\nu\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\varsigma \Delta\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma]\omicron\upsilon\upsilon \theta\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (= $-\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$) $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.
15. Restore $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma[\acute{\epsilon}\nu]\tau\alpha\iota$? Cf. ed. pr. and n. P. Frisch, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 215-18.
- XXXII 2610 2. Restore $\langle\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\rangle \delta\acute{\iota}\alpha \psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\varsigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu \pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota \tau\eta\upsilon \gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\mu\eta\eta$ c. 12 letters $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon \delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \beta\omega\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. P. Frisch, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 215-18.
- XXXII 2617 4 i 7. F. Maltomini, *Studi classici e orientali*, 33 (1983) 336.
- XXXIII 2673. G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents* (1977) *Illustrating Early Christianity*, 169.
- XXXVI 2772. R. Bogaert, *Anagenesis* 3 (1983) 22-3.
- XXXVII 2812. J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Pap. Colon. X), 30-53.
2822. M. L. West, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 27-30.
- XXXIX 2891. Q. Cataudella, *Sileno* 1 (1975) 75-8.

- XL 2938. R. Bogaert, *Anagennesis* 3 (1983) 50-1.
 XLII 3008 (p. 30 n. 1). The text mentioned as unpublished is now LII 3659, but judged not to be written in the same hand, see LII p. 60 n. 1.
 XLIII 3094 40 n. C. Tsiparis, *Ostraca Lundensia*, 81-3.
 3119. M. M. Sage, *Wiener Studien* NF 17 (1983) 144.
 XLIX 3436, 3437. H. Wankel, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 89-92.
 3455. D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 265-75.
 L 3574. G. M. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, 144-6; P. Mayerson, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 251-8.
 LI 3643 introd. The text of Dr J. G. Keenan's papyrus about Epicurean books has now appeared again as SB XIV 11996.
 LI 3645 5-7 n. For βραχύτερος probably meaning 'younger' see SB VI 8987.4 (and n., H. Zilliaceus, *Eranos* 38 (1940) 91): [Γ]ερακιανού τοῦ βραχυτέρου ἀδελφοῦ ἐμοῦ τῆς προγεγραμμένης Ἐλιζαβὲτ γυναικὸς κ[αὶ] ἐνάμου... (ἡλικίας?), 'Hieracianus the younger(?) brother of me the aforesaid Elizabeth who is also(?) of lawful (age?)'. J. R. Rea.
 P. Ant. II 97. 1. For Φλ(άουωσ) read Φλ(αούω). J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 248.
 III 187. G. Messeri, *APF* 29 (1983) 33-6.
 P. Fay. 81. 1-2. Restore [Νέρονα Τ]ραιανού Ἡρίστου Σεβαστοῦ [Γερμανικοῦ Δα]κικοῦ. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 36 (1983) 364-5.
 237 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 284.
 352. Cf. P. Hamb. III 204. 2 n.
 P. Hibeh I 27. D. H. Fowler, E. G. Turner, *Historia Mathematica* (1983) 344-59.
 II 179. M. Cropp, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 67-72; 73, O. Musso, *Prometheus* 9 (1983) 49-56.
 186. J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Pap. Colon. X), 19-29.
 P. Tebt. II 341. 3. For Θεογονίδο(c) read perhaps Θεοξενίδο(c). L. C. Youtie, *BASP* 19 (1982) 88.
 526 (description). For Βουβ(άστου) read perhaps Βουκ(άλων). L. C. Youtie, *BASP* 19 (1982) 90-1.
 P. Turner 1. M. L. West, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 27-30.
 26. G. Messeri, *APF* 29 (1983) 36-40.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3647. ANTIPHON, *περὶ ἀληθείας*

(ADDENDUM TO 1364)

44 5B. 61/G(4-6)c

11 × 10 cm

Early third century

This fragment contains the tops of three columns. The first has line-ends which clearly continue the line-beginnings of XI 1364 fr. 2 ii; the two pieces join precisely in ll. 6 and 10-11; the hand and format are the same.

For the palaeographic description, see 1364 introduction. Here I note only the kollesis which occurs on the new piece just to the right of col. iii. This may provide new evidence for calculating the distance between fr. 1 (7 columns) and fr. 2 (4 columns), including 3647). In fr. 1 the kollesis are about 25 cm apart. On this basis, and assuming (what is not certain) that the kollemata were of equal width, fr. 2 would stand at a distance of at least three columns from fr. 1, whether before it or after it. If fr. 2 were placed after fr. 1, we should have lost three complete columns (including a kollesis); if on the other hand fr. 2 preceded fr. 1, we should have three consecutive kollesis. I am inclined, with all due reserve, to put fr. 2 before fr. 1, on the evidence (a) of the colour of the papyrus (fr. 1 is straw-coloured; fr. 2 dark, with large patches of dirt and in a worse state of preservation—an indication, perhaps, that it stood nearer the outside of the roll); (b) of the progress of the argument, since the discussion of φύσις, which is primary (fr. 2 ii 17 f.), should precede that of νόμος, which is secondary (fr. 1 i 23). But in any case I do not believe that the fragments can be separated by much more than the minimum three columns; for the list of the senses, as innate and necessary, in the new fragment (col. iii) corresponds directly to the similar list of senses under the constraint of human νόμος in fr. 1 cols. ii-iii, thus completing the antithesis between φύσις and νόμος.

Antiphon seems to argue that by nature (φύσις) all human beings are the same, and have the same basic functions; it is only later that each geographically differentiated group develops its own conventions (νόμοι), which set it apart from other groups; in nature there is no distinction between 'Greek' and 'barbarian'.

I am much indebted to Guido Bastianini, who with Fernanda Declava Caizzi is to republish all the papyri of Antiphon in *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* i.

	col. ii	col. iii	col. iv
	(1364 fr. 2 ii + 3647 i)	(3647 ii)	(3647 iii)
	ρωνεπ[	]δακρυ	. [
	θατεκ[	ομε[.], υπο>	τ[
	τουςδε[	μενοι[]καιτγια	. . μ. [
5 (270)	λοδουκ[]των.	κοηιτου. φθογ	λοιεισιγ[
	ουτεεπ.[]αμε	γουςειδεχομε	ταταρέ[
	θα·ουτεσεβομεν	θα·καιτηιαν[⁷ η]	εχωρη[
	εντ[.]υτω[]ουν	μετατηροψε>	εκαστοι.[
	προαλληλους	ωσορωμεν· και	και ⁷ ομ[
	βεβαρβαρωμε	ταιςχερσινε>	το·κ. [·.]
10 (275)	θα·επειφυσειγε	γαζομεθα· και> [
	πανταπαντες	τριςποσιβα. [·]	
	ομοιωσπεφυκ[	μεν. υβ[
	μενκαιβαρβα[
	ροικαιελλην[
15 (280)	ειναι· σκοπειω[
	δ[.]παρεχειτα>[
	τωνφύσει[
	αναγκαι[
	πασιναν[
20 (285)	ποις· [
	τεκατ ⁷ [
	δυνα[
	καιεν[
	τοις· ουτεβ[
25 (290)	ροσαφωρι[
	[[δ]]ημωνο[
	ουτεελλην[]φ[
	ναπνεομεν		
	τεγαρειστονα		
30 (295)	ερ[.]απαντες>		
	κατατοστομ[.]		
	[.]αικατ[.]τασρι		
	νας· κ[
	]νχ[

	col. ii	col. iii	col. iv
	ρων ἐπι[ε]τάμε-	. . . . ] δακρύ-	. [
	θά τε κ[α]ί εέβομεν	ομε[ν] λυπού-	τ[
	τούς δὲ [	μενοι· και τῆι ἀ-	. . μ. [
	λοῦ οικ[. . .]των,	κοῆι τούς φθόγ-	λοι· εισιγ[κα-
5	οὔτε ἐπι[ε]τάμε-	γους εἰδεχόμε-	τά τὸ ἀρέ[σκον συν-
	θα, οὔτε εέβομεν.	θα· και τῆι ἀνγῆι	εχώρη[σαν
	ἐν τ[ο]ύτω[ι] οἶν	μετὰ τῆς ὄψε-	έκαστοι. [
	πρὸς ἀλλήλους	ως ὀρώμεν· και	και 'το, 'νομ[
10	βα· ἐπει φύσει γε	ταῖς χερσὶν ἐρ-	το· κ. [·.]
	πάντα πάντες	γαζόμεθα· και [
	ὁμοίως πεφύκ[α]-	τρίς ποσὶν βαδ[ί]ζο-	
	μεν και βάρβα-	μεν . υβ[
	ροι και Ἑλλην[ε]ς		
15	εἶναι· σκοπεῖν		
	δ[ε] παρέχει τὰ		
	τῶν φύσει [
	αναγκαι[
	πᾶσιν ἀν[θρώ-		
20	ποις· [
	τε κατὰ τ[
	δυνα[
	και εγ[
	τοις, οὔτε β[άρβα-		
25	ρος ἀφώρι[ε]ται		
	ἡμῶν ο[ὐ]δεῖς,		
	οὔτε Ἑλλην. ἀ-		
	ναπνέομέν		
	τε γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἀ-		
30	έρ[α] ἄπαντες		
	κατὰ τὸ στόμ[α]		
	[κ]αὶ κατ[ὰ] τὰς ρί-		
	νας, κ[
	. .]νχ[

- col. ii. 5 . [, point at line-level 20 . [, pi or possibly gamma
 col. iii. 2] , foot of descending oblique (e.g. lambda) 4 . φ , top curve of epsilon or sigma
 11 . [, point of ink, or left tip of horizontal, at half-height
 col. iv. 3 . . . , perhaps part of the left arc, and of the middle, of omega; then foot of upright . [, part of upright, with cross-bar to the right at middle height (epsilon, or perhaps eta) 7 . [, lower left angle of epsilon, theta, omicron, sigma? 9 . [, top junction of alpha or lambda

For col. i see XI, pp. 99 f.; for earlier work on cols. i-ii, *Vorsokratiker*⁸ ii. 352 f. 3647 now provides the ends of ii 4-11, and the whole of iii and iv.

cols. ii-iii. I take the basic argument to be an anthropological one, inspired by the sort of cosmological-anthropogenic exposition which we find attested for the schools of Anaxagoras and Democritus (*Vorsokr.* 59 B 4, 60 A 1, 4, 68 B 5), which in Antiphon may have developed in parallel with and in opposition to the teaching of Protagoras. Protagoras, to judge from the myth in Plato's *Protagoras* (which probably imitated Protagoras' actual book *περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*), emphasized that the original condition of mankind was an animal state of nature, which attained to civilization by way of Law and *αἰδώς*; thus he took a favourable view of the effects of *νόμος*, as indispensable for the development of communal life. Other texts on the origins of civilization, collected in *Vorsokr.* 68 B 5, take the same line. But one of them (Tzetzes on Hesiod, *Erga* 42), which brings in the motif of *φιλανθρωπία*, would fit, at least in outline, what I suspect to have been Antiphon's argument about early man. Starting from such a view of the origins, it was possible to maintain that the various human groups which originally formed in various areas of the earth diverge further and further, as time passes, in manners and customs, so that each becomes alien and incomprehensible to the others. They forget their common clay, and attach great importance to their factitious values (cf. Pind. fr. 215 SM; Hdt. 3. 38; *Δικοὶ Λόγοι* 2); thus in a sense they retreat from obedience to a general, objective law to a 'particular', contingent law which is often valid for only one *πόλις*. In this context the attack on Protagoras' notion of *δικαιοσύνη* as *δόξα πάσης*, which we seem to find in fr. 1 col. 1, would follow plausibly. Antiphon, perhaps influenced by medical literature, probably interested in the ethnic and geographical aspects, apparently uses the idea of biological equality to show the necessary and universal nature of the laws of *φύσις* as against the relative and secondary nature of human *νόμος*. This may point up still more clearly the polemic against Protagoras. By Protagoras' criterion of truth every human manifestation (such as *νόμος*) possesses equal validity (or the contrary, see *Δικοὶ Λόγοι*) and equal reality; for Antiphon the criterion of truth is not man, but *φύσις* and its realities (*ὄντα*). On this basis only the laws of *φύσις* (understood in the widest sense with its cosmological and anthropological effects) can be thought real, *ἀληθείαι*; whereas *τὰ τῶν νόμων*, that which arises from custom and from written and unwritten law, like all moral values (cf. Plato, *Leg.* 888 D, included among references to Antiphon by Untersteiner, *Sofisti* iv C 1), represents only *δόξα*. See, for the distinction, Antiphon 87 B 15 (and perhaps Artemid. 4. 2 = Antiph. C 4 Untersteiner, if the attribution to Antiphon is accepted).

Thus the distinction between Greeks and barbarians which was commonly made in considering the human race can easily be placed within Antiphon's epistemology: it would be an example of a false distinction, since man as a genus is one of the *ὄντα*, the realities of *φύσις*, whereas the classification 'Greeks' and 'barbarians' (note the same division as an example of bad dialectic method, Plato, *Pol.* 262 D) arises merely from a *κατὰ νόμον διάθεσις* (87 B 15), the result of misinterpreting what is no more than a geographical dislocation of human groups.

col. ii. 1-4. The construction seems to be *τοὺς μὲν τῶν ---]ρων ἐπι[ιστάμε]θά τε κ[αὶ εὐβρονο], τοὺς δὲ [τῶν κτλ.* Earlier editors introduced here a contrast between noble and non-noble birth (see e.g. *Vorsokr.* ii 352); but it is now generally agreed that this would be extraneous to the argument. In fact the contrast is probably between the laws (*τοὺς νόμους*) of more neighbouring or more familiar nations (e.g. *τῶν ἐγγυτέ]ρων* or *οἰκειοτέ]ρων*) and those of more distant ones (*τοὺς δὲ [τῶν τῆ]λοῦ οὐκ[οῦν]των*). Nature binds men together under universal laws; but conventional 'laws' (customs, language?), which are peculiar to one country or another and attract only ignorance or intolerance in the others, must be understood as resulting from local differentiation (a matter simply of geography, perhaps also of climate, see Hippocrates, *Aer.*—hence perhaps the use of the poetic *τηλοῦ οἰκοῦντων*). This seems to me the most likely reconstruction, given space and context.

5 ff. . . . we do not know or respect. So in this matter we have "made ourselves barbarians", each in the eyes of the other. For by nature, at least, all of us, in all respects, come to exist in a similar way, whether

barbarians or Greeks. It is possible to examine (the rules) which exist by nature: they are necessary for all human beings. . . in this too none of us is marked out as a barbarian, or as a Greek. Indeed, we all breathe the air through the mouth and the nostrils; and . . . we weep in pain; and we receive sounds with our hearing; and we see by eye with our vision; and we work with our hands; and we walk with our feet. . . .'

10-15. Cf. Plato, *Menex.* 245 D. Antiphon of Rhamnus is expressly mentioned at 236 A; and it may be possible to detect attacks on Antiphonitean ideas throughout the funeral speech which follows.

16-18 e.g. *τὰ τῶν φύσει [όντων], ἀναγκαῖα* (I have used this in the translation). For various reconstructions of 16-23 see e.g. *Vorsokr.* ii 353. I think the basic sense must be: nature expresses itself in laws which are necessary and bestowed on all human beings in virtue of their humanity. In 20, where *π[ο]* can be read, perhaps a form of *πορίζεω*. This gives a good contrast with fr. 1 ii 26 ff.: here nature 'provides' man with laws which are also his natural resources; there convention imposes laws which stand in direct opposition to the peculiar abilities of man.

33 ff. L. 34 is likely to be the last of the column (the columns of fr. 1 have 33 lines), although no lower margin survives. I therefore suggest e.g. *κ[αὶ γελῶ]με]ν χ[αίροντες τῶν | νόμω]ν] δακρύομε]ν*.

col. iii. 7-8. Cf. Antiph. 87 B 7 A. . . . *εἶπε . . . τῆ ὄψει οὖν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς*. The reference is more likely to this passage than to B 1, where the contrast between *ὄψει* and *γνώμῃ* makes the use less concrete.

11 *βαθ[ύ]ζω*: the final trace is a point of ink suitably placed to represent the left-hand angle of delta. The supplement is confirmed by the acute accent which survives above the lacuna to the right.

12 *υβ[]*: the first trace is a high point of ink following close on nu. It might be taken as a stop; in which case the letter before upstroke was narrow and low in the line (omicron?).

col. iv. 5-6. Cf. perhaps fr. 1 i 28 ff. *τὰ [μὲν] τῶν νό[μω]ν ὁμολογ[ή]θέντα οὐ φύ[ν]τα ἐστ[ί]ν· τὰ δὲ [τῆς φύ]σεως φύ[ν]τα οὐχ[ὶ] ὁμολογ[ή]θέντα*.

8 The suprascript word could be read as *τοῖς* or as *τοῦς*.

3648. CONON, *Διηγρήσεις?*

51 4B.17/A(1-2) a

fr. 2 8.7 × 26.4 cm

Second century

The large piece (fr. 2) has remains of two columns, the second to full height; upper margin (partly preserved) 2.7 cm, lower margin (much damaged) 1.2 cm., surviving intercolumnium c. 2 cm. The small piece (fr. 1) can be located from its content in the lower part of fr. 2 col. i. The text is written across the fibres, on the back of a poorly preserved land-register; the column has 38 lines, the line 36-8 letters (fr. 2 col. ii). The script is tidy and upright, decorated with hooks and serifs; it is of the type of Roberts, *GLH* 14 (b) (mid second century), but with many cursive features (epsilon has sometimes the formal, sometimes the cursive shape; frequent ligatures, e.g. of *αι*, *ει*, *εδ*, *τε*). Punctuation by paragraphus and blank space (both certain in fr. 2 ii 3, 5; at 11, 23, 27 only paragraphus survives; at 32 and fr. 1. 5 (?), 6 (?) only the blank survives); the high stop at fr. 2 ii 13 may be delusory. An indented heading begins the new section at fr. 2 ii 19.

The preserved portion of text tells the story of Aeneas and the foundation of Lavinium, Alba, and Rome, then that of Althaemenes and the colonization of Crete; it partly overlaps Conon's *Diegeseis* 46 and 47 as summarized by Photius (iii. 35 Henry; *FGH* 26 F 1 p. 208). Conon's short book contained fifty narratives, dedicated to an Archelaus Philopator, whom scholars commonly assume to be Archelaus Philopatoris, King of Cappadocia 36 BC-AD 17 (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v 1. 84 Anm. 1 rejects the

identification). 3648 has a version fuller than Photius': in the story of Aeneas, the papyrus narrated in full the fulfilment of the oracle and the foundation of the cities, which Photius passed over; in the story of Althaemenes, factual and verbal coincidence is

fr. 1

] . . . [. . .] . [
] . οπουανα . [
] . τωνσιτιω [
] . . πρωτον [
 5] . . αί . . φ . [
] . . . [

2] . , ink at line level, curving up gently to join an upright near its foot (e.g. alpha iota; less likely nu) . . . , left-hand end of high horizontal 3] . , ink like the ends of the branches of kappa, overlapping the beginning of the tau above and below 4] . . , prima facie nu, then a space with faint traces which may not be ink at all 5] . . , upright, with perhaps a descending oblique joining from left at foot (alpha iota or the like?); then apparently a blank, but perhaps just rubbed, since there may be unexplained ink just before the alpha 6 Again, the apparent blank may be rubbed

fr. 2 col. i col. ii
] .] . μη . . τωνπο [
] .] . εθαι αλλακαιανταεπιτοις [
φαγειν τουσμενδηγε . [
] .] . καιπαιδιανκαιταστραπ [
 5] .] . ναιφαναι συνενταδαιν [
συμβαινειτρολογιον τη . [
] .] . θε[.] υδεδρομενηνπροκ . [
περιεξαντατοχωριον . . [
] .] . τααποτροιασιεραδειμα . [
 10] .] . νιονυπερτησθαλασσης . [
μενων ιδρυθηναιβεβαι [

col. i. 1 upright 2 oblique tail (e.g. alpha) joining iota? or nu? 5 upright
 col. ii. 3] . , foot of oblique rising to right (lambda, mu, chi) 6] . , left-hand part of nu? but gamma, or sigma with extended top, might be possible 7] . , speck level with the tops of letters 8] . . , epsilon or sigma, joining to right a short upright hooked right at foot (gamma, pi?) 9] . , epsilon or pi? 10] . , left part of gamma or pi? (top probably too flat for nu)

more extensive, but Photius abbreviates some details (e.g. fr. 2 ii 24-7). It seems likely that 3648 contains the original text of Conon; but the possibility that we are dealing with just another epitome cannot be altogether excluded.

fr. 1

] . ὅπου ἂν ἀ[τὸς ἄμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θύσας
] . τῶν σιτίω[ν καταβάγοι καὶ τὰς τραπέζας
] . . πρῶτον [

fr. 2

col. ii

] . μη . . τωνπο [
] .] . εθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς [σιτίοις c. 8
φαγεῖν· τοὺς μὲν δὴ γε . [c. 19
 5] .] . καὶ παιδιὰν καὶ τὰς τραπ[έζας c. 13
ναι φάσαι, συνέντα δ' Αἰν[είαν c. 14
συμβαίνει τὸ λόγιον τη . [c. 17
] .] . θε[ο]ῦ δεδομένην πρὸς κα[τοίκισιν c. 10
περιε<ι>ρξάντα τὸ χωρίον . . [c. 16
] .] . τὰ ἀπὸ Τροίας ἱερά δειμάς[θαι c. 9 Λαου-
 10] .] . νιον ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ε . [c. 15
μενων ιδρυθηῖναι βεβαί[ως c. 14 Ἄλ-

- 15] βαυτωκικθςαγκαιμετ[
] προταμωρωμηπολιςηχ[
] .αλητεκαιπρλυανδρειος[
] προαυτη .ευδαιμονεστα.[
] μηνανθρωπινωνεχομ[
] σηςεπιπλειστοναρχει .α[
] τοτωναιεραδωνπαρεχ[
] αλθαιμε[
 20] αλθαιμενηςτωνηρακλε[
] τημενουεστασιασασπρο[
] νεωτατοσανιστηςιν .[
] τονδωρι[.]ωνεγνω .χω[
] μετειχονδετουστολουκα[
 25] εκπελοποννησουδιατα[
] μετανασταςεισαλωμεν[
] καιτηερισκατοικηςιν .[
] λονδεκα[]αθηρναιοις .[
] τοικκοδρει[]δ'αισποικιαν[
 30] χρονομοιωσλακεδαμ[
] .πωκιζοντρμφ .λον .μρ[
] .πολλιςη .ντο καιοι .[
]]μενοιπαρεκαλογ .[.] .[
]]χεινςφιντουεπ .ρη .[
 35] .νηκαιτηεδωρικηςαπ .[
] .ηκαιαντογκαιγενρςδω[
] .ανμετασφωνπ[
] υ[]ντες . . . β .[

14 .α, gamma or tau 15 .[, left part of high horizontal 17 .α, confused traces, then right-hand end of high horizontal, with point at line-level below 22 .[, sigma, or damaged omicron; then perhaps top and foot of upright, upper trace perhaps crossing a horizontal (as top of gamma, pi) 23 ω, epsilon or sigma 28 .[, left-hand arc of circle 31 .π, oblique, as back of alpha or the like φ, . trace level with letter-tops (only iota likely in the space) ν, . lower left arc of circle? scattered traces to right 32], . stroke sloping down joins foot of upright at line-level η, ., probably gamma, joining short vertical trace to right .[, dot, perhaps left end of horizontal, level with letter-tops 34 π, ., upright; upright close after, damaged patch to right 35], ., omicron or omega .[, left and upper arcs of circle? 36], ., upright 37], ., foot of upright 38 . . . , tops perhaps of epsilon or sigma, plus iota; then tau (or perhaps pi); then stripped patch with speck at half height to the right .[, small circle, omicron or rho

- βαι τε ᾠκίςθησαν και μετ[ὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Θύβρει
 ποταμῷ Ρώμη πόλις, ἢ χ[ρόνον ἕστερον πάνυ με-
 γάλη τε και πολυάνδρ(ε)ιος [. . .] c. 16
 15 πρὸ αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτ[η c. 15
 μην ἀνθρωπίνων ἔχομ[c. 20
 σης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρχει και[c. 16
 τὸ τῶν Αἰνεαδῶν παρεχ[c. 19
] Αλθαιμέ[]νης
 20 Αλθαιμένης τῶν Ἡρακλε[ιδῶν τρίτη γενεὰ ἀπὸ
 Τημένουε στασιασας προ[ς τοὺς ἀδελφούς (ἦν γὰρ
 νεώτατος) ἀνίστηεν . . [c. 14]στρα-
 τὸν Δωρι[έ]ων ἔγνω ἔχω[ν c. 19
 μετείχον δὲ τοῦ στόλου και[] Πελασγῶν τινας
 25 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου διατα[c. 18
 μεταναστάσεις ἀλώμεν[οι c. 16
 και[] τῆς εἰς κατοικηςιν . . [c. 11]ἔστελ-
 λον δὲ και[] Αθηναίοι τοῖς ε[]ν Νεϊλεῷ τε και
 τοῖς Κοδρεΐδαϊς ἀποικίαν [κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν
 30 χρόνον ὁμοίως Λακεδαμ[όνιοι c. 12
 ἀπώκιζον τὸν Φιλονόμο[υ λαόν, ὃν Δεελφός c. 5
 και[] Πόλλις ἠγρόντο και[] οι . [c. 15
 . . .]μενοι παρεκάλον . [.] . [c. 12]κυμ-
 μετέ]χειν σφίςιν τοῦ ἐπὶ Κρήτ[ην πλοῦ c. 7
 35 κω]ωνῆσαι τῆς Δωρικῆς ἀπο[ικίας c. 9
 . . .] . η και[] αὐτὸν και[] γένος Δω[ριεῖα c. 9
 εἰς τὴν Ἀς]ίαν μετὰ σφῶν π[εραιωθῆναι c. 7
]ντες . . . β . [

In the notes, I use 'Conon' (in quotation marks) to mean Photius' summary of the original Conon.

fr. 1

LL. 2-3 overlap the end of 'Conon' 46. 5 (Photius, ed. Henry, iii 35; *FGH* 26 F 1, p. 208.20) . . . λόγος μὲν οὖν εἰς σῶτος (about the foundation of Aeneas by Aeneas) ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις λέγεται· ὁ δὲ τὸ Ρωμαίων γένος εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρων και[] οἰκιστὴν ποῖόν Ἄλβας, και[] τὸ χρηστῆριον ὁ κατοικῶν ἐπέτρεπεν ὅπταν αὐτὸς ἅμα τῶν [A: τοῖς M] ἐν αὐτῷ θύσας μετὰ τῶν ἐπιτῶν καταφύγοι και[] τὰς τραπέζας, σῶτος καταμάξενται. Therefore fr. 1 must come before fr. 2 col. ii, where the story of the eating of the tables is told in detail: probably in the lower part of col. i.

2 ὅπου ἄν: often in oracles, cf. 'Conon' 25. 2 (*FGH*, p. 198. 15), *DH, Ant.* 1. 55-4, *Arist. fr.* 611. 55 *Rose, Plu. Mor.* 294 ε etc.

3 Photius' version suggests μερ]α. But that does not account for the higher of the two traces. Perhaps παρέ]ε?

5 ἴερα could be read, cf fr. 2 ii 9.

fr. 2

The lines should be of c. 36-8 letters, see 20-1.

1 ff. The story of the fulfilment of the oracle about the eating of the tables, apparently told in some detail here, but passed over as commonplace by Photius. For this oracle cf. DH, *Ant.* 1. 55. 3 f.; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 255 ff.; 7. 109 ff.; R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (edn. 3, 1928) 89 ff.; R. B. Egan, *Pacific Coast Philology* 9 (1974) 37 n. 10.

1-11 seem to be written in the accusative and infinitive (so that 6 *συμβαίνει* should be part of a subordinate clause). This would be explained if the author, like Photius, presented the story as an alternative version, dependent on something like 'others say . . .'

1 Perhaps τῶν (or -των) πο[ών. That might refer to grass (Virg. *Aen.* 7. 109 *per herbam*); or even to the *céλνα*, cf. 2.

2 Perhaps ἀυτὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς [εἰτιόις τὰ céλνα (or τὰ ἔτρα), cf DH, *Ant.* 1. 55. 3. But I am doubtful about the word-order.

2-3 φαγεῖν or κατα]φαγεῖν: cf. Photius *καταφάγει*.

3 ff. . . . that some were laughing and joking, and said that they were eating even the tables, but Aeneas understood . . .'

3 τοῖς μέν: some of the Trojans, cf. DH, *Ant.* 1. 55. 3; in Virg. *Aen.* 7. 116 the observation is made by Ascanius.

γέ]ω[α or the like? Cf Xen. *Cyrop.* 2. 3. 18 *κὼν πολλὰ γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾷ*. Similarly Virg. *Aen.* 7. 116 f. '*heus, etiam mensas consumimus?*' inquit Iulus, / *nece plura, adludens*. On similarities between 'Conon' 46 and the *Aeneid* see Egan, *op. cit.* 37-47.

5 φάνα: probably so, 'they said' (subject 3 τοῖς μέν), rather than φάνα.

συνέπτα: in a similar way Aeneas quickly grasps the truth in Virg. *Aen.* 7. 117 ff.; differently DH, *Ant.* 1. 55. 3.

6 συμβαίνει: presumably something like '(Aeneas understood that) the prediction was coming true'. For the expression cf. Aristoph. *Equ.* 220 *χρησμοὶ τε συμβαίνουσι*.

6-7 Perhaps τῆν [- - - ὑπὸ τοῦ (or τῆς)] | θε[ο]ῦ δεδομένην πρὸς κα[τοίκεσιν γῆν. For the end cf. 27 below. The other accounts do not make it clear which god was meant. Perhaps we may think of Aphrodite, who plays an important part in 'Conon' 46. 2-4, or of Apollo (on whose role in the *Aeneid* see Heinze, *op. cit.* 84 f.; on Apollo in foundation myths in general see B. Schmid, *Studien zu griechischen Ktisissagen*, Diss. Freiburg 1947, 154 ff.).

8 ff. Here the version of 3648 seems to be different from both DH and Virgil; the remains suggest the following sequence of events:

Aeneas built a wall round the place, did something with 'the holy things from Troy', and founded Lavinium.

In DH, *Ant.* 1. 55. 4 ff. the Trojans first look after the gods' statues and build altars; then Aeneas follows a sow, which in accordance with another oracle decides the exact spot for Lavinium on a little hill, some distance from the sea. In 3648 (1) there is no room for the sow; (2) Lavinium is ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης. In Virg. *Aen.* 7. 157 ff. Aeneas builds a camp on the sea-shore and surrounds it with a wall; the foundation of Lavinium falls outside the scope of the poem (cf. Heinze, *op. cit.* 92).

8 περιε(λ)εβάντα: the first thing to do when one founds a city; cf. Schmid, *op. cit.* 176 ff., 'Conon' 37. 3 *περιτειχίας τὸ χωρίον*.

. . . [; perhaps something like ἐστ[ετειλαντα δὲ κομίζεω, cf. DH, *Ant.* 1. 55. 5. It may be most economical to have the Penates only brought ashore here and reserve the actual building of the temples for 11 ἰδρυθῆναι.

9 At the end δέμας[θαι τὴν πόλιν λαοῦ gives the required sense.

10 ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης: 'above' may mean 'inland' or 'on the sea-coast'. DH, *Ant.* 1. 56. 2 is far more explicit here (24 stades, θαλάττης πρῶω).

11 ἰδρυθῆναι βεβα]ω: the expression is reminiscent of Thuc. 3. 40. 2 *βεβαίως . . . ἰδρῶσθαι* (of an army); in 'Conon' we find the verb several times of the foundation of temples (e.g. 49. 1), once of a people settling itself (25. 1). It could be guessed, then, that this is a reference to the Penates and their temples in Lavinium (cf. Timaeus, *FGH* 566 F 59; Roscher i 178; Heinze, *op. cit.* 34 f.).

11 f. Α]β]α: the author reverts to direct speech; since the beginning of the sentence is lost at the end of 11, it is not clear whether he named a founder (e.g. *οὗτος ὁπ' Αἰβείου*), or simply reported the foundation and left the role of Aeneas to the story which he quotes in 1-11 ('Conon' 46. 5 (*λόγος*) δ . . . οὐκίτην ποιῶν Α]ΒΑC). 'Conon' 48. 6-7 gives a different version of the foundation of Alba.

12 f. For the supplement cf. such expressions as Athen. iv 173 E (= Aristot. fr. 631 Rose) *ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ κατοικοῦντες*; 'Conon'. For the spelling Θυβρ- cf. 'Conon' 48. 3 etc.

13 'Ρώμη: again no founder is named in the surviving part of the text. But since Rome is coordinated with Alba (τε . . . καὶ), and if Alba was here founded by Aeneas (11 f. n.), the founder would be Aeneas. This tradition certainly existed, cf. Wörner in Roscher i 182; Heinze, *op. cit.* 72 f.; Jacoby on Timaeus, *FGH* 566 F 59-61 n. 309.

13 ff. The new city is elaborately praised in terms which are largely conventional (see in general C. J. Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptions und Laudes urbium* (1980); some references also in *ZPE* 41 (1981) 74 ff.; 45 (1982) 85 ff.).

13 ἢ χ[ρόνω κτλ: for the supplements cf. 'Conon' 25. 2 *χρόνω . . . ὕστερον*, 48. 6; 40. 2 *πάνυ καλήν*; for the idea of a relative clause 48. 7 'Ρώμην . . . ἢ νῦν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἔχει κράτος. 14-15 recall such phrases as 'Conon' 2 *πόλιν . . . μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα*; 4; 47. 6; Plu. *Alex.* 26. 4 *πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον*.

15 πρὸ αὐτῆς: the final sigma is very uncertain. If the reading is right, supply something like (*πόλεω*) *πασῶν τῶν*] | πρὸ αὐτῆς.

17 ἐπὶ πλείστον: probably of space; similar views of Roman power in Virg. *Aen.* 1. 278 f.; QS 13. 340 f.; cf. also Classen, *op. cit.* 10 f.

19 ff. These lines show many coincidences with 'Conon' 47. 1-2 (Photius, ed. Henry, iii 35): *ἡ μὲν ὡς Αλθαμένης τοῦ Ἡρακλειδῶν γένους τρίτη γενεὰ ἀπὸ Τημένους στασιάζει πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς (νεώτατος δ' ἦν) καὶ μετακίσται Πελοποννήσου, στρατὸν Δωριέων ἔχων καὶ τινας Πελασγῶν. ἔστειλλον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὴν εὐν Νελεὺς [edd.: νηλεω Μ, εἰλέω Α] τε καὶ τοῖς Κορῶσιαι ἀποικίαν ἰμοίως δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Φιλονόμου λαὸν ἀπέμικτον ὠν ἠγεῖτο Δελφῶς ὄνομα καὶ Πόλις. ἐκότεροι οὖν [Α: καὶ ἐκότεροι Μ] παρεκάλουν Αλθαμένην συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἔργου, οἷτε Δωριεῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ Κρήτην πλοῦ, ἅτε καὶ αὐτὸν Δωριεῖα ὄντα, οἷτε Τωνες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ σφῶν περαιωθῆναι κτλ.*

19 Αλθαμέ]γνης centres almost exactly with 20; so that we should not think of restoring a longer title.

20 The story starts with name and ancestry, as always in Photius' excerpts. Althaemenes' colonization of Crete is mentioned also by Strabo 10. 4. 15, 18 (Ephorus *FGH* 70 F 146 and 149 §18), 14. 2. 6.

21 στασιάζας πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφού: on stasis as a cause of emigration see Schmid, *op. cit.* 169 ff.

21 f. (ἦν γάρ] | νεώτατος): νεώτατος δ' ἦν 'Conon'. This type of parenthesis occurs often in 'Conon': 50. 2 *ἦν γὰρ ἦσαν οἶου* etc.

23 ἔγνω: perhaps 'he decided' (to emigrate 'with a band of Dorians'), as in 'Conon' 40. 2. For the word-order cf. 'Conon' 6 *ἔχων ἔχρα τὸ μαντεῖον*, 48. 3 *εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἔτρυχε βαλῶν*; Martini in *RE* xi (1922) 1336, s.v. Konon (9).

24-7 reduced in 'Conon' to the phrase *καὶ τινας Πελασγῶν*. The main verb comes in 24; 25-7 may consist of dependent participles, or may be attached by a relative whose verb is lost. There would be room for οἷ at the end of 24.

25 f. Perhaps διὰ γὰρ c --- μεταναστάσεις ἀλώμε]σι. For displacements of population cf. Thuc. 1. 2. 1 (and of the Pelasgians, Herod. 1. 56. 2-3); for wanderers eager to join a colonizing expedition, Schmid, *op. cit.* 172 f.

27 At the end, something like χύ]ραC δεόμενοι (φ is not well suited to the trace, such as it is; but ink survives only on the lower layer of fibres).

28 f. After the death of the Athenian king Codrus his sons Medon and Neleus/Neileos quarrelled, but Medon's claims to power were favoured by Delphi, so Neleus and the other sons left; see *RE* xi (1922) 987 ff. s.v. Kodros 1, xvi (1935) 2280 s.v. Neleus 2.

28 τοῖς: we expect τῆν, as in 'Conon'. Perhaps this is a 'dative of interest'; perhaps we should look for a different verb (ἐπέβαλ] | λον?), in spite of 'Conon'. If the supplement in 29 is right, there is no room for a further participle to govern the dative.

31 f. τὸν Φιλονόμου] λῶν: the people from Imbros and Lemnos, brought to Amyclae by Philonomus; cf. 'Conon' 36, Nic. Dam. *FGH* 90 F 28 with Jacoby ad loc., Höfer in Roscher iii 2. 2351 f. For ἀπέμικτον

cf. the stories in *Plu. Mul. Virt.* 8 (247 c-e) and *Qu. Gr.* 21 (296 n-d), where these people are regarded as a threat by the Spartans and sent off as colonists (other details are different). Something about the strained relations between the Lacedaemonians and Philonomus' people may have stood in the lost part of 30.

31 f. The names of the leaders are given as follows:

'Conon' here	Δελφός ὄνομα καὶ Πόλις	
'Conon' 36	Πόλιδος καὶ Δελφοῦ	
<i>Plu. Mor.</i> 247 D	πόλλιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἀδελφὸν καὶ κραταῖδα	codd.
	Δελφὸν καὶ Κραταΐδαν	Meursius, etc.
	ἀδελφὸν (αὐτοῦ) Κραταΐδαν	Nachstädt
<i>Plu. Mor.</i> 296 B	πόλιν ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν . . . πόλλιν . . . τὸν ἀδελφὸν	codd.
	καὶ Δελφὸν	τὸν Δελφὸν Wyttenbach.

Some have thought *Δελφός* a corruption of *ἀδελφός*, rather than vice versa. But in 3648, at least, the second leader must have had a name, since he is mentioned before Pollis. I assume from 'Conon' that the name was indeed Delphus, and that Plutarch's *ἀδελφός* is a corruption (unless, of course, they actually were brothers). In l. 31 there is room for another word at the end (*ὄνομα?*); *καὶ Κραταΐδας*, as restored in Plutarch, looks too long.

32 Perhaps *καὶ οἱ τ[ε] Δωριεῖς*. But we expect, after 'Conon', a general clause referring to both groups, and then the subdivision into Dorians and Ionians. 34-6 clearly refer to the Dorian expedition; *οἱ τε Ἴωνες* or the like must have stood at the end of 36.

35-6 Perhaps *Ἄλ|[θαιμέ]γη . . . Δω[ρία] ὄντα*.

3649. CORNUTUS, *περὶ ἐκτῶν β*¹

5 rB.38/J(i)

12 × 21 cm

Second/third century

Only the end-title of this roll survives, with c. 2 cm of blank papyrus to the left and c. 6 cm. to the right (the upper right-hand edge is clean enough to be the original margin); above the title c. 4 cm, below c. 12 cm, to broken edges (if the writing was approximately half-way down, the roll must have had a minimum height of 30 cm). The back is blank. The script is a fine broad slightly sloping example of the 'Formal mixed' style (*GMAW*¹ p. 26), assignable to the late second century or the first half of the third.

This Cornutus must be the philosopher and critic who taught Persius and was exiled by Nero; he stands after Arius in the Paris list of Stoics (Diogenes Laertius, ed. Long, ii 392). The title preserved in 3649 is otherwise unknown (see Reppe, *De L. Annaeo Cornuto*, Leipzig 1906; Nock, *RE* Suppl. v (1931) 995-1005), but not unexpected, since *ἐκτά* was a technical term of Stoic physics and ontology. See Simplicius in *Cat.* 214. 24 ff. (*SVF* ii 391) *τὰς γὰρ ποιόητας ἐκτά λέγοντες οὗτοι (οἱ Στωικοί) κτλ.*, 212. 9 (*SVF* ii 390), and without specific reference to the Stoics 163. 10, 209. 10.

¹ Sir Eric Turner left no finished manuscript of this piece. This version has been put together from scanty notes and from the remarks published in *HSCP* 1975.

This text was mentioned in *HSCP* 79 (1975) 1 f. The help and advice of Professor A. Henrichs, Dr D. N. Sedley, and Professor G. Verbeke should be acknowledged.

ΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ

ΕΚΤΩΝ

Β

3650. HYPOTHESES TO EURIPIDES, *Alexandros* AND *Andromache*

42 5B.78/J(3-4)b

18 × 21 cm

Early second century

This papyrus, from the same roll as XXVII 2457 (hypotheses of the *Aloestis* and *Aiolos*), contains the hypothesis of the *Alexandros* in its first column while most of its second column is occupied with the hypothesis of the *Andromache*. I have published a full edition of the text elsewhere (R. A. Coles, *BICS* Suppl. 32 (1974) with pl. i-ii). Here I repeat the interpretative transcript (with modifications in ll. 14, 18), and add some notes discussing readings proposed since the *editio princeps*.

I have noted the following reviews: (1) J. M. Bremer, *Mnem.* 4th ser. 28 (1975) 308-12. (2) H. Cadell, *Rev. de Phil.* 50 (1976) 123-4. (3) M. J. Costelloe, *Stud. Pap.* 14 (1975) 150-1. (4) S. Daris, *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 307-8. (5) H. G. Edinger, *BASP* 13 (1976) 133-5. (6) R. Hamilton, *AJP* 97 (1976) 65-70. (7) J. Irigoin, *REG* 90 (1977) 154-5. (8) F. Jouan, *Gnom.* 48 (1976) 808-10. (9) W. Luppe, *Philol.* 120 (1976) 12-20. (10) W. Luppe, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 97 (1976) 26-8. (11) W. Luppe, *Archiv. f. Pap.* 27 (1980) 239-40 and 242-3. (12) H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 17 (1976) 5-6. (13) O. Musso, *Prom.* 2 (1976) 288. (14) H. Strohm, *Anzeiger f. d. Altertumsw.* 30 (1977) 163. (15) H. van Looy, *Ant. Class.* 44 (1975) 707-8. (16) N. G. Wilson, *CR* ns 27 (1977) 105.

- [*Ἀλέξαν*]δρ[ος οὐδ' ἀρχή·]
 [± 11] καὶ τὸ κλεινὸν [*Ἰ*]λιον
 [ή δὲ ὕ]πθρουσι·
 [± 11] Ἐκάβη καθ' ὕπνον ὄψει
 5 [± 9] ἔδωκεν ἐκθνεῖναι βρέφος
 [± 10] ν ἐξέθρηψεν υἱὸν Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρ[ν Π]άριον προσαγορεύσας. Ἐκά-
 βη δὲ τῆ[ν ἡ]μέραν ἐκείνην πενθοῦ-
 10 κα ἄμα κ[αί] τιμῆς ἀξιόυσα κατωδύ-
 ρατο μὲν [τὸ]ν ἐκτεθέντα, Πρίαμον [δ' ἔ-]
 πε[ι]σεν . . .]ελεῖς ἀγῶνας ἐπ' α[ὐ]τῷ κα-
 ταστής[ας]θα[ι.] διελθόντ[ων δὲ ἐτώ]ν εἰ-
 κρσι ὁ μὲν παῖς ἔδοξε[± 7 τ]ὴν
 φύσιν εἶναι βουκολ. [± 9]ντος,
 15 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι νομείς διὰ τὴν ὑπερήφανον
 κυμβίωσιν δῆσαντες ἐπ[ι] Πρίαμον ἀνήγα-
 γον αὐτόν. ἐπερωτηθεὶς [δ] ἐπὶ τοῦ δυνά-
 20 στρον . . . φ[ι.] . . . π. [1-2]ρειτο καὶ τοὺς δι-
 αβάλλοντας ἐκάρ[τ]ο[υ]ς ἔλαβε καὶ τῶν
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελ[ο]νμῆ[ων] ἀγῶνων εἰάθη
 μετασχεῖν. δρόμον δὲ καὶ πένταθλον
 25 ἔτι δὲ πύξ † ἤττηντο, φ. . . . εθρίωσε †
 τοὺς περὶ Δηφόβον, οἵτινες ἤττησθαι δια-
 λαβ[ό]ντες ὑπὸ δούλου κατηξίωσαν τὴν
 30 Ἐκάβην ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ. πα-
 ραγενηθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
 Κακ[σάν]δρ[α] μὲν ἐμμανῆς ἐπέγνω
 καὶ π[ερὶ] τῷ]ν μελλόντων ἐθέσπισεν,
 Ἐκάβη [δὲ ἀπο]κτεῖναι θέλουσα διεκω-
 35 λύθη. π[α]ρα[γενό]μενος δ' ὁ θρέψας αὐτὸν
 διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἠραγκάσθη λέγειν τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν. Ἐκάβη μὲν οὖν υἱὸν ἀνεύρε

- [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] π[α]-
 λιν ἀπ[ήλθ]εν [ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον μετανοήσας,]
 35 ἴνα τὸν θεὸν ἐξ[ελάσ]ηται. ζήλοτύπως δ' ἔ-]
 χουσα ἡ βασ[ιλίς] πρὸς τὴν Ἀνδρομάχην]
 ἐβουλεύετο κα[τ'] αὐτῆς θάνατον, μεταπεμ-]
 ψαμένη τ[ὸν Μενέλαον] ἢ δὲ τὸ παιδίον]
 μὲν ἐξέθηκ[εν, αὐτὴ δὲ κατέφυ-]
 40 γεν ἐπὶ [τὸ Θέτιδος ἱερόν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Με-]
 νέλαο[ν καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀνεύρον καὶ ἐκείνην]
 ἀπατ[ήσαντες ἠγειραν, καὶ σφάττειν]
 μέλλο[ντες ἀμφοτέρους ἐκωλύθησαν]
 Πηλέ[ως ἐπιφανέντος. Μενέλαος μὲν]
 45 οὖν ἀπ[ήλθεν εἰς Σπάρτην, Ἐρμιόνη δὲ]
 μετε[νόησεν εὐλαβηθεῖσα τὴν παρουσίαν]
 τοῦ Νε[οπτολέμου. παραγενόμενος δ' Ὀρέ-]
 στης τ[αὐτήν μὲν ἀπήγαγε πείσας, Νε-]
 50 οπτολ[έμου δ' ἐπεβούλευσεν ὃν καὶ φονευ-]
 θέντα [παρήσαν οἱ φέροντες. Πηλεῖ δὲ τὸν]
 νεκρὸ[ν μέλλοντι θρηνεῖν Θέτις ἐπιφα-]
 νε[ί]σα [Νεοπτόλεμον μὲν ἐπέταξεν ἐν]
 [Δε]λφ[οῖς θάψαι, Ἀνδρομάχην]
 δὲ με[τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς Μολοσσούς]
 55 ἀποστ[εῖλαι, αὐτὸν δ' ἀθανασία]ν προσδέ-]
 χεσθα[ι]
 ταυτα[
 πρ[ο]σωπ[- ?
 τῆς μ[
 60 μελε[
 τον π[
 δι' αὐτο[-
 δούλον [
 τεταρτ[- ?
 65 του τη[

(ll. 1-33) "The *Alexandros*, which begins:

... and glorious Ilium.

The hypothesis:

... Hecuba [singing?] visions in her sleep, [Priam?] gave the infant [to a herdsman?] to expose ... he reared Alexander as his son, calling him Paris. But Hecuba, in sorrow for that day and at the same time deeming it deserving of honour, bewailed her exposed son, and persuaded Priam to establish ... games in his honour. After the passing of twenty years, the boy seemed to be ... in his nature ... herdsman, but the other shepherds, on account of the arrogance of his relationship towards them, bound him and brought him before Priam. Questioned in the presence of the ruler, he ... and caught out (?) each (?) of those who were slandering him, and he was allowed to take part in the games arranged in his honour. They were beaten (?) in the running and the pentathlon and even in the boxing, and ... enraged those around Deiphobus, who, thinking themselves defeated by a slave, urged Hecuba that she should kill him. When Alexander appeared, Cassandra in a raving state recognized him and prophesied about what would come to pass, but Hecuba, who wished to kill him, was prevented. The man who brought him up appearing on the scene because of the danger was compelled to tell the truth. So Hecuba discovered her son ...

2 R. Scodel, *The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides* (Hypomnemata 60, 1980), 22 supplements [Τροία μὲν ἦδε]; criticized by J. Diggle, *CR* NS 31 (1981), 106, who proposes e.g. [ὠ κλεινὸς Τῆρς].

4-6 have specially attracted the attention of Luppe, in two reviews, nos. 9 and 10 above. No. 10 simply summarizes his arguments, which receive their full treatment in 9. His proposals, which do not affect the extant text, are 4 [Πάρον διὰ τινος], 5 [Πριάμος νομεί εἰδωκεν, 6 [ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἴδιο]ν. (Pace Luppe, in 5 the δ of εἰδωκεν is there, on a tiny piece folded underneath and therefore not visible on the published photographs.) An alternative supplement for 5 is proposed by Bremer, review 1 above, [ἐκιδούσης εἰδωκεν].

11 Luppe favours εἰ[πε[ι]σε πο[λο]υ[ε]λεῖς, review no. 9 above, repeated briefly in review no. 10. The reading is palaeographically permissible.

13-14 Luppe (review 9, repeated 10) proposes [κρείττων (or καλλίων) τ]ῆρ | φύειν εὔαι βουκόλω[ι γεννηθῆ]ντος; ω of βουκόλω[ι is at least as acceptable as the genitive βουκόλω[ν given in the *ed. pr.*, p. 12.

17 Conflicting suggestions here for ἐπερωτηθεῖς in the *ed. pr.* Bremer (review 1) proposes ἄνερωτηθεῖς, which I cannot exclude. Luppe (9) proposes ἀρωρηθηθεῖς in effect, which I cannot exclude either.

18 For ἄρδίας suggested in the *ed. pr.* (p. 20) Bremer (1) proposes ἀφόβωσ or ἐλευθέρωσ, but I cannot elicit either from the traces. Luppe (9) suggests τ[ι]μωρ[ί]ων π[α]ρείτω; this I cannot accept. I cannot fit it to the traces, which are more extensive than Luppe allows for (as well as being less lacunose than his layout implies). At the end, Bremer (1) would like κἀρούς; the *ed. pr.* did not query the iota but in fact I cannot insist on it.

19 Luppe, review 11, p. 242^b, reports a suggestion (in a letter) by D. L. Page, to change the scribe's ἐλαβε to ἐβαλε.

21 Luppe, review 9, queries δρόμον in the *ed. pr.* and proposes π[α]μμ[α]χ[ί], but his analysis of the traces (from a photograph) will not bear comparison against the original. In the same review, 18¹⁸, he proposes πενταθλῶν for πένταθλον in the *ed. pr.*, but I believe that the ink at the critical point was continuous (although now broken), thus favouring ο against ω.

22 has caused difficulty and attracted the attention of both Bremer and Luppe. The line as printed above (and in *ed. pr.* p. 12) differs materially from the diplomatic transcript in the *ed. pr.*, p. 8, which read εὐδαιμαξήτηρτεςφ. . . . θηριωσε. Luppe (9) accepts εἶτι δὲ πύξ and proposes thereafter ἐνίξησε ἐφ'. A brave effort, but it will not do: his iota is not simply a vertical, but (as indicated in the app. crit. in the *ed. pr.*) a trace survives of the right end of the horizontal (τ: γ would also be possible palaeographically). Luppe's κ for my η is not impossible; next, although as he says ν and η are similarly formed, the angle of the centre-stroke is critical and I cannot accept this example as an η. His facsimile (p. 18) distorts the shape. Thereafter I now accept the possibility of ε (contrary to my view in the *ed. pr.*, p. 10), but it is not ligatured straight to the following letter as Luppe's reading would have it; the 'link' is in two sections, the left part slightly curved, the right part straight and incompatible with Luppe's proposal. The condition of the surface thereafter makes it quite clear that the next letter, which in any case has to accommodate the horizontal just mentioned (τ in *ed. pr.*), has not lost ink above, and it cannot be explained as a damaged ε.

Luppe would continue ἐφ' φ[ι] δ[ι]σθηρίωσε; much the same was proposed by Mette (review 12), ἦτ<τ>ητ<τ>[τ] <α>. ἐφ' [ο]ε ἀπεθηρίωσε[ν], despite the bizarre punctuation. I cannot ascertain what immediately follows the φ (there is no lacuna, pace Mette and Luppe). The traces of three letters before θηριωσε may well be αψς, and ἀπεθηρίωσε was suggested in the *ed. pr.* (p. 21).

Bremer (1) takes us on a completely different track. He rejects ξ in favour of β (suggested as an alternative in the *ed. pr.*, p. 10) and sees εἶτι δ' ἴσποθη. . . ν†, and proposes thereafter κρεθθεῖς ἀπεθηρίωσε. I am not happy with his omicron and his dismissal of the high trace, which led me to read alpha and which seems too deep to be from χ in the line above (μεταχέει). ε of suggested κρεθθεῖς, I have already indicated above, is acceptable. θεῖε I cannot discern. For ἀπεθηρίωσε see above. Bremer may well be on the right track, but nevertheless the crux remains and so I refrain from putting his suggestion in the text and so exchanging the crux of the *ed. pr.* for a new one.

56-65 See the comments of Luppe, review 11, p. 240.

3651. HYPOTHESES TO EURIPIDES, *Bellerophon* AND *Busiris*

43 5B.71/E(1-8)B

4.1 × 15.7 cm

Late second/early third century

A narrow strip of papyrus from the top of a column containing the latter part of the hypothesis to Euripides' *Bellerophon* and the heading and first part of that to the *Busiris*. Only the left-hand ends of lines survive together with part of the intercolumnium; the lower half of the papyrus is badly rubbed.

The hand is an upright, informal one, attractively and competently written. Rho, upsilon, phi, and occasionally tau have long descenders and phi has a tall ascender. Both delta and iota are generally large, and, if occurring together, intersect at their bases. Omicron is variable in size and positioning, sometimes high in the line and sometimes a dot of ink in mid-line. Alpha is very angular, while omega has a flat base. Phi is stylized with an angular bowl. A date in the late second or early third century is suggested by comparison with VII 1016 (C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 20a) which is on the back of a document now dated to AD 235 by L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 14. The uprightness and squareness of VII 1017, assigned to the late second or early third century, are also very similar. V 842, assigned by the editor to the late second or early third century and by R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* ii, pl. 42 to the second-third centuries, is similar, although more sloping and less well executed. Two lectional signs, a diaeresis over an iota in l. 3 and a diastole in l. 25, have been added by the original hand. In ll. 7 and 22 a space has been left to indicate a pause. The back of the papyrus is blank.

This text, which is part of a new set of hypotheses, follows the usual format. (For papyrus hypotheses in general see introduction to 3653 *ad fin.*)

The story of Bellerophon was treated by Euripides in two plays, the *Bellerophon* and the *Stheneboea*. The hypothesis to the latter preserved by John the Logothete (ed. H. Rabe, *RhM* 63 (1908) 147), and partially in XXVII 2455 fr. 5 col. v and fr. 6 col. vi, shows that Bellerophon was sent by Proetus to Iobates in Caria and that at the end of the play he threw Stheneboea from Pegasus into the sea and finally returned to Tiryns, claiming that he had taken fitting vengeance on her and her husband. The *Bellerophon* is attested by 30 book-fragments (Nauck² 285-312, H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 12 (1967), no.

363, and H. Hunger, *JÖByzGes* 16 (1967) 8) and by references in Aristophanes and the accompanying scholia. From *Pax* 135–6

οὐκ οὐκ ἐχρῆν σε Πηγάσου ζεύξαι περὶον,
ὅπως ἐφαίνου τοῖς θεοῖς τραγικώτερος;

and 146–8

ἐκείνου τήρει, μὴ σφαλεῖς καταρρυῆς
ἐντεῦθεν, εἴτα χωλὸς ὢν Εὐριπίδῃ
λόγον παράσχῃς καὶ τραγωδία γένη

and the scholia thereon (Nauck², p. 443), it is evident that Euripides in this play covered the later history of Bellerophon alluded to in *Iliad* 6. 200–2 and recounted in Schol. A ibid. 155 (cf. also Tzetzes on Lycophron 17 and Hyg. *Astron.* 2. 18): elated by his previous successes he attempted to fly to heaven on Pegasus but was thrown off and ended his life wandering about Lycia, lame and in rags. It is perhaps significant that this passage of the Homer scholia is attributed to Asclepiades, the pupil of Isocrates, ἐν *Τραγωδοῦμένοις* (*FGH* 12 F 13). Nauck² 306–8 indicate that Pegasus was actually represented on stage.

The present text, however, adds nothing to our knowledge of the play, except perhaps a few geographical references (see ll. 9, 12, and 20).

Apollod. 2. 5. 11 relates the story of Busiris. To relieve a nine-year-long dearth, Busiris had been bidden by an oracle to sacrifice a foreigner every year on the altar of Zeus. When on his way to fetch the apples of the Hesperides, Heracles was seized as a victim but broke free and slew Busiris and his son Amphidamas. (See also Dio Chrys. 8. 32 and Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1396.) The play itself is certainly attested by only three book-fragments, Nauck² 313–15. Its satyric nature is affirmed by Diomedes, H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* i 490, 18: *Latina Atellana a Graeca satyrica differt, quod in satyrica fere satyrorum personae inducuntur aut si quae sunt ridiculae similes satyris, Autolyceus, Busiris*. Since it is more than likely that the *Autolyceus* had a chorus of satyrs, it is to be inferred that the *Busiris* featured a chorus of *personae ridiculae*. (See V. Steffen, 'The Satyr-dramas of Euripides', *Eos* 59 (1971) 215–16.) As hypotheses of the present type contain no critical comment or references to staging, *ἀάνροι* in l. 27 would be unlikely to be a comment on the replacement of satyrs by another type of chorus. Diomedes' statement may be reconciled with the hypothesis by supposing that the chorus was composed of satyrs with black masks and negroid features. Many of the vases depicting Heracles and Busiris show the latter and his attendants as negroes. (Cf. V. Steffen, *ibid.* and F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³ 34–6.)

The remains of the ἀρχή in l. 24 provide a tantalizing yet inconclusive connection with Nauck² 922, but the hypothesis itself is too damaged to contribute any new information.

	διεγνωκότος, [	διεγνωκότος . [
	σθαιπροσελθω[	σθαιπροσελθῶ[ν	
	ἰδιουκαιαδελφ[	ἰδίου καὶ ἀδελφ[
	βελλεροφοντη[	Βελλεροφόντη[
5	τηνπρεπουσα[	τὴν πρέπουσα[ν	
	αυ[.]οσζυνεπε[	αὐ[τ]ὸς ζυνεπε[
	θη νεκρον. [	θη νεκρόν . [
	πειντονεχ. [	πειν τὸν ἐχ. [
	αποτων[[ε]]ταυρ[	ἀπὸ τῶν [[ε]] Ταυρ[
10	σανταυπολ[	σαντα ὑπολ[	Βελ-
	...]φοντην[	λερο]φόντην [
	...].δρυ. [	...].δρυ. [
	...]υδρονεξε[	...]υδρον εξε[
	].ν.εφο. [	].ν.εφο. [
15	].εδ. [.]. [	].εδ. [.]. [
	].ατηνχψ[	].α τὴν χψ[ραν	
	...].αμυ. [	...].αμυ. [
	].ασπριμαδ[	τ]ὰς πριμαδ[
	].αιτουβελλερ[	].αι τὸν Βελλερ[οφόντην	
20	...].η.λυκια[	...].η[ς Λυκία[
	...]τηνναυ[	...] τὴν ναῦν [

1 ., foot of vertical
2 mark end of a hypothesis
3 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

	.]. κ. . αν διε[	.]. κ. . αν διε[
	βρυσειρι[	Βρύσειρι[ε σατυρικός, οδ ἀρχή
	.]. , αιμονο[	]φ δαίμων ο[
25	ηδ' υποθεες[	ή δ' ὑπόθεες[ις.
	.]. , αμηλαδ. [	.]. , α μηλα δ. [
	.] ατυροισπρο. [	ε] ἄτυροι προ. [
	.].]ερ. [	.]. ]ερ. [
	.] τρεε[	.] τρεε[
30	.]. , ιγυ[	.]. , ιγυ[
	.] μι. [	.] μι. [
	.]. . [.]. . [
	.] τρ[	.] τρ[
	.]. [.]. [

22], mid and low trace After κ vertical and end of high horizontal to right; 2nd, high traces on left, foot at right 23 υ, vertical and part of left oblique Tops only of last 3 letters 24], mid trace, wide base crossed by slight curve on right; compatible with wide ω, δ less good; 2nd, top of letter and traces of base: δ? α, junction of α with ε too high for ν ο[, too short for ε? By this line the column demonstrates Maas's law 26], . . . , scanty traces; 1st letter of line perhaps completely lost After δ high trace 27], two dots of ink on single fibre: if ε must be slightly tilted to right 28], vertical or part of curve 29 ε, horizontal just visible on left of ε 30], . ι or], ι, high ink, perhaps top of vertical, + top of vertical with ink joining at top left 31], two feet 32], , upper part of vertical], foot of oblique? 33], , high ink; 1st letter? 34], high ink 35], vertical with foot well below, high ink on left, end of horizontal joining next letter

1 Genitive absolute? If *διεγνωκός* is used in the sense of 'decide a law suit' or 'give judgement', the occasion is quite unclear. An idea of the minimum line-length can be deduced from l. 23, containing the title of the play (see n. ad loc.) and l. 24. The breaks in these lines come approximately below that in l. 1 and suggest a loss of at least 16 letters, and if an average trimeter is c. 30 letters, at least 22.

2 *σθαι*, end of mid. or pass. inf.; perhaps governed by *διεγνωκός* meaning simply 'having determined to'. *προσελάω*], almost certainly a participle; a construction requiring the aor. subj. is difficult to envisage here.

3 The ekthesis is perhaps due to the subsequent insertion of ι in the margin. ἀδελφί], part of ἀδελφός or ἀδελφή? ἀδελφίδη, ἀδελφιδούς, etc. are not excluded. Deliades, or Heliades, Bellerophon's brother, mentioned in Apollod. 2. 3. 1 and Tzetzes on Lyc. 17 as one of the names of the person whom Bellerophon killed and for the purification of whose murder he first went to Proetus, is unlikely to be mentioned at so late a stage in the myth. The other person we know to whom this could refer is Sthenoboea's sister, who was given to Bellerophon in marriage by Iobates.

5 τὴν πρέπουσα] recalls the phrase used of Bellerophon in the *Sthenoboea* hypothesis, *διεπν ελληφέναι τὴν πρέπουσαν*, but there is no reason to connect the two texts in any way.

6 αὐ[τ]ός: Bellerophon? *συνέμε[τ]αι*?, P.J.P.

7 *κεκρόν*. Is the dead body that of Sthenoboea, whom Bellerophon flung from Pegasus and fishermen recovered in their nets? As far as our knowledge extends, the only other possibilities are Isandros and Laodameia, Bellerophon's children killed by Ares and Artemis respectively (*Il.* 6. 203-5).

[: the major punctuation preceding *κεκρόν* might suggest γάρ, P.J.P.

8 εχ. [: εχ[ε], εχ[θ] or εχ[φ]: e.g. *ἐχθρόν* (Proetus?), *ἔχοντα*.

9 Since there is no mention in the mythographic sources of bulls in connection with Bellerophon, this is perhaps a reference to the Taurus mountains bordering the north of the Aleian plain where he is supposed to have wandered. *Ταύρος* seems always to be used in the singular (see Pape-Benseler s.v.) and so perhaps τὸν *Ταυρ[ικόν]* . . . The confusion with *τραυρός* suggests a Christian scribe.

12 The interlinear insertion, almost certainly part of *ποταμός*, is perhaps by the hand that made the deletion in l. 9. The name of the river is not obvious.

13 γέρον: although this could come from *Μαλανδρος*, its distance from *ποταμ[ε]* and its proximity to the beginning of the line tell against it. Perhaps *Τεα]γέρον*, Bellerophon's son.

16 τὴν χεῖ[ρα]: a reference to Bellerophon's wanderings?

23 The beginning of the *Syleus* hypothesis published in *ΖΠΕ* 4 (1969) 43 and 173 and belonging, as M. W. Haslam (*GRBS* 16 (1975) 150 n. 3) has observed, to 2455 (in fact to the foot of fr. 7) has the letters]μικο[, clearly to be supplemented as *Κυλεύς σατυρικός* (*ΖΠΕ* 4, 173). L. 23 of the present text should therefore probably be supplemented as *Βρύσειρι[ε σατυρικός, οδ ἀρχή* rather than simply *Βούσειρι[ε, οδ ἀρχή*. No other title to the hypothesis of a satyr-play exists to a sufficient extent to provide further confirmation, but XXVII 2456, a list of Euripides' plays, shows that the adjective was usual, for it has [Και]ρων σατυρικός (l. 3) and [Κυ]λε[ύ]ς σατυρικός (l. 5). See V. Steffen, op. cit. 217-18, who, although failing to make use of the evidence of the *Syleus* hypothesis, shows that usage overwhelmingly supports *σατυρικός* with singular titles and *σάτυροι* only with plural titles.

24 Nauck³ 922 (included under the *incertae fabulae* of Euripides) is quoted in a corrupt state by Diod. Sic. 20. 41. 6:

τίς τοῖνομα τὸ ἐπινοεῖσιν βροτοῖς
οὐκ οἶδε Λαμία τῆς Λιβυτικῆς γένος;

B. Snell (*Hermes* 91 (1963) 495 and the supplement to Nauck³ 312a) and C. Austin, *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea*, p. 90. 6, both included this under the heading *Βούσειρι σάτυροι* (see n. above) in order to accommodate it to 2455 fr. 19, which had the apparent coincidence of letters]νεδιδε[and came from a play with a plural title. Though M. W. Haslam, op. cit. 149-74, showed that the papyrus fragment comes from the *Phoenissae*, this does not invalidate the theory that the book-fragment may be from the *Busiris*. This has been emended in various ways, e.g. by Meineke to read

τίς τοῖμόν ὄνομα τοῖνοεῖσιν βροτοῖς,

which is a plausible correction if the corruption is due to haplography of *ον*.

The only evidence for a title occurs in the anonymous prologue to the Sibylline Oracles, p. 2, l. 36 ed. J. Geffcken (which Lact. *Inst.* 1. 6. 8 and Schol. Plato, *Phaedrus* 244 b (p. 80 Greene) closely follow), where, in a list of the ten Sibyls, it says, *δεντέρα Λιβύσσα, ἧς μνήμην ἐποιήσατο Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ τῆς Λαμίας*. It is reasonable to assume that Nauck³ 922 comes from this play. There is no evidence for the title *Lamia* in the didascalae. In *Analecta Euripidea* 159 Wilamowitz took the view that *Lamia* was not the name of a play but that of a character who spoke a prologue, and in *Der Glaube der Hellenen* i 273 decided that the play was *Busiris*. This requires ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ τῆς *Λαμίας* to mean, not 'in the prologue of the play *Lamia*', but 'in the opening speech spoken by *Lamia*'.

Our *μονό]* calls to mind *τίς τοῖμόν ὄνομα* . . . Unfortunately *τοῖμόν* is an emendation and it is clear from the papyrus that none of the preceding letters fits *τις*. In fact the traces suggest δ *δαίμων* (cf. e.g. *Alceste* 384 and *Helen* 455). Although the ω is a little wide, it is probably acceptable at the beginning of the line. A vocative would create an effective opening. *δαίμων* would explain the corruption palaeographically but an emendation sufficiently satisfactory to connect the ἀρχή of the papyrus with Nauck³ 922 does not suggest itself.

There are a few other tenuous links between the story of *Busiris* and the book-fragment. We know from Apollod. 2. 5. 11 that *Busiris* sacrificed his victims at an altar of Zeus, for which the oracle of Zeus Ammon on the borders of Libya and Egypt would provide an appropriate setting, cf. Apollod. loc. cit. *μετὰ Λιβύην δὲ Αἴγυπτον διεξήκει* (sc. Heracles). Moreover, Arrian 3. 3. 1 tells us that Heracles visited Ammon in Libya *ὅτε παρ' Ἀνταίων ἦε εἰς Λιβύην καὶ παρὰ Βούσειρον εἰς Αἴγυπτον*. *Lamia*'s residence in Libya would therefore provide a sufficiently close geographical connection, especially in view of Dio Chrys. 5. 24, where a creature, probably a *Lamia*, killed two young men on their way to the oracle of Ammon. Three vases (C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* 143-4) depict Heracles leading away a grotesque creature with a female head, an exploit that is otherwise unknown. Both Haspels and E. T. Vermeule, *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* 295-301, regard this

creature as Lamia. Another lekythos (Haspels, *ibid.*, pl. 49) shows Lamia being tortured by five satyrs, and though too early to be directly connected with the play, at least places her in a satyric context. As Wilamowitz points out (*Kl. Schr.* i 192) the monster Lamia is best suited to a satyr-play.

²⁶ *μηλα* is not found in prose to signify animals except in *Hdt. ap. Schol. ll.* 4. 476. Euripides clearly used the story found in Apollod. 2. 5. 11 in which Heracles encountered Busiris on his way to fetch the apples of the Hesperides. Diod. Sic. 4. 17. 1, 4. 18. 1, either himself confusing the meanings of *μηλον* or following a confused source, mentions Busiris' death as occurring on Heracles' way to get the cattle of Geryon.

³⁰ The traces are not compatible with part of *Atyuroc*.

3652. HYPOTHESES TO EURIPIDES, *Hypsipyle* AND *Phrixus I*

4.8 × 15.2 cm

Early third century

A piece from the bottom of a papyrus roll containing the end of the hypothesis to the *Hypsipyle* and the beginning of that to *Phrixus I*. It does not belong to any of the other papyri containing Euripidean hypotheses so far known, see p. 30 below, but the two plays are represented by hypotheses in XXVII 2455 fr. 14 cols. xiii-xiv and fr. 15, and fr. 14 cols. xvi-xvii. The second is identifiable from the phi in ii 16 and the coincidence of the ἀρχή in l. 17 with 2455 222 (fr. 821 N²), the scanty remains of the first only from part of the name Archemorus in ii 13. If W. Luppe is right in suggesting (*ZPE* 52 (1983) 43-4) that in 2455 the *Phaethon* hypothesis should be placed after *Phoenix* and that consequently *Phrixus I* should follow immediately after *Hypsipyle*, the order would coincide with that here; in the list of Euripides' plays in XXVII 2456 a *Phrixus* play also follows *Hypsipyle*.

The principal sources for the Hypsipyle legend are conveniently collected in G. W. Bond, *Euripides, Hypsipyle* (2nd edn., 1969) 147-9, but they are of little help when the remains of the hypothesis are so slight. I can find no overlap between this and 2455 col. xiv.

The *Phrixus I* hypothesis is more profitable. Col. ii 16-25 coincides with 2455 221-32 so that one can be supplemented from the other. The ramifications in the stories surrounding Phrixus and Ino are considerable. The variants used by Euripides in his two *Phrixus* plays and in the *Ino* are discussed by Sir Eric Turner in *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology* 12-15 and XXVII, pp. 64-5. He was then uncertain whether Hyginus' second chapter, entitled 'Ino', recounted the story used in *Phrixus I*, because the end was similar to ch. 4 and did not fit with 2455 238-40. In the light of the new text, the first part of ch. 2 appears almost to be a translation in a different order of the hypothesis. Apollod. 1. 9. 1 is the other main source for this version and also has close verbal parallels with the present text. The new hypothesis proves, as Turner suggested, that *Phrixus I* and *II* dealt with the same theme. The end of the *Phrixus II* hypothesis in 2455 280-8 clearly shows that the earlier part of the play concerned Ino's machinations against Nephele's children, and the beginning of the new text that the same was true of

Phrixus I. T. B. L. Webster's idea (*The Tragedies of Euripides* 131 6) that the latter may have centred on Phrixus' adventures in Colchis can no longer stand. His ascription of several of the *Phrixus* fragments (822-6 and 828-38 N²) which come under the general heading of *Phrixus* in the sources to *Phrixus II* is not so certain now that *Phrixus I* is seen also to have covered the parching of the corn and the bribing of the messenger. (See H. van Looy, *Zes Verloren Tragedies van Euripides* 132-84.) The relevant parts of 2455 are collected with further suggested supplements in C. Austin, *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea*, p. 101; W. Luppe in *ZPE* 51 (1983) 25-8 has proposed a convincing reading of 2455 239-40.

For the hand a close parallel is to be found in a papyrus of a similar genre, VI 856, Hypomnema on Aristoph. *Ach.* assigned to the third century AD (= E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, no. 73). There are also affinities with V 842 (second to third century). It is a smallish capital, sloping to the right, but is to be distinguished from 856 by its stylish xi, by phi with a triangular bowl, and by upsilon, which is symmetrical and generally without a long descender. The letters are mostly made separately but epsilon ligatures to the following letter; iota, rho, and phi have long, elegant descenders.

There are no lectional signs except diaereses in ii 11 and 24 and an accent in 20. In ll. 10 and 20 of the same column a space indicates a pause. A deletion has been made in l. 28, almost certainly in the lighter ink used by the second hand which has added corrections in the intercolumnium opposite ll. 19 ff. Those beside ll. 19 and 20 are legible and there are further traces beside ll. 21 and 22. By themselves they are unintelligible and since they seem to bear no relation to the likely supplements in col. ii they are presumably connected with col. i.

There is a generous lower margin of 3.4 cm. The back is blank.

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
		.....]. [ surface stripped	.....]. [ surface stripped
		.....]. νελ[	.....]. νελ[
		.....]τηνμ[	.....] τήν μ[ητέρα
5		]ρ. [. . .] τρις. [	ρ. [. . .] τρίς. [
		]τηνμητέρα. [	τήν μητέρα. [
		]ευροναυ. . τη[	ευρον αυ. . τη[
		]θαν. . . αυτ[	θαν. . . αυτ[
		. . .] ησαν. νρ[	. . .] ησαν. νρ[
10		. . .] cθη. [. . .] ν ς. [	. . .] cθη. [. . .] ν ς. [
		. . .] ναχαρ. ἴ[	. . .] να χὰρ. ἴ[
		. . .] αντοσα[	. . .] αντος α[
		. . .] χεμορ[	Άρ]χεμορ[
		. . .] ν παιδ[	τό]ν παιδ[α
15		. . .] ν των π αντ[	. . .] ν τών π άντ[ων
		φρ[	Φρ]ίξος πρῶτος οδ ἀρχή
		. . .] μεντοδημ[	εί] μὲν τόδ' ἤμ[αρ πρῶτον ἦν κακουμένω.
		αθαμασιοςμ[	Αθάμας νίδος μ[έν ἦν Αἰδόλου, βασιλεύς δὲ
		θετταλωνε[	Θετταλῶν, ἔ]χων παιδας ἐκ Νεφέλης Ἑλλην και
20		]ελυ ^{θεισα}	Φρίξον· ἔτι δὲ [καὶ συνώκησεν Ἰνοῖ τῆ
		]φεν	Κάδμου παιδὶ [c. 20
		]α	τὰ τῶν προγόν[ων c. 9 ἐμηχανή-
		]η	σατο καθάπερ [φο c. 9 τὸν τῆς μη-
		]τα	τρυῖας πικρὸν . [c. 11 ἠ] συγκα-
25		]ξ αυ	λέσασα γὰρ τῶν [Θετταλῶν γυναῖκας ὄρ-
		]ι	κοικατηρφαλ[ίσατο φρύγειν ἐπέρμα πύρι-
		]ελυ	νον ἐπὶ τὴν χε[ιμερινὴν σπορὰν c. 5
		]υ	ἀκαρπίας [αγει. [c. 17
		]υ	λυσινεφρίξος[c. 7
30		]ρυ	εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπ[c. 14 ἄγγε-
		λονεπεισεως. [	λον ἔπεισε ὡς [

col. i. 19]ρ, α, or λυ . . . [foot followed by another trace slightly higher: one or two letters Apparent high stop after c probably part of enlarged initial α in ii 18. 21 υ, or λυ 23], , ι, υ, or π 24]ρ, or γ 26], , ι, high ink with part of horizontal stroke below: a squat κ? 2nd, vertical with foot pointing to left and mid horizontal joining next letter: λ? 3rd, a long descender: ι or ρ? 30]ο, or ρ

col. ii. 1] . . . [height above l. 3 suggests these are feet of letters; of 1st, only traces; 2nd, angular foot of ε, ο, or c? 3], , high ink . . . [foot of oblique; μ or χ also possible 5 Alignment with lower part of column shows that nothing is lost at beginning of ll. 5-8]ρ, , or φ, followed by base of letter ρ, ρ less good because usually has flatter top ε, ο possible but ε or θ less likely . . . [confused traces of one or two letters; 1st, a rounded letter? 6 . . . [hasta 7 υ, π less good One or two letters follow; lower part of hasta or oblique with ink above and on right low ink looking more like foot of vertical than of oblique: η, α, αι, or τ 8 α, or ο After υ η, μ, or ν, then part of vertical followed by mid ink, unclear whether a letter is lost Before a high speck τ[or π 9], , vertical ink on edge of break υ, or ι followed by vertical of next letter; high ink to right υ, or α 10 η, [.]ν, ς[α]? ε, or ο], high and low traces 11 υ, or τ β, or φ Before ; high ink may be part of ρ or φ sloping considerably to right 15]υ, or κ After π foot of letter, lower parts of two verticals, middle horizontal rising slightly to right and foot of vertical; 2nd, υ or η; 3rd, slightly anomalous τ or high α + vertical 20 Heavy accent 1st or 2nd hand? Fairly close to δ high ink; apostrophe? To right foot of letter 21], foot of letter; α or ι, not ο 24], trace of crossbar; ε or θ? 27 ε[, traces of left of letter and extended mid horizontal; θ also possible 28], jumble of strokes confused by deleting line; deletion probably by same hand as accent in l. 20 30], vertical turning to left at foot; κ or ν but π best; not θ 31], foot of oblique

‘ . . . (ii 14 ff.) Phrixus I, whose beginning is: “If this were the first day for a man in distress”. Athamas was the son of Aeolus and king of the Thessalians, having children by Nephele, Helle and Phrixus. And later he lived with Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, and had two children. And Ino plotted to destroy (?) her stepchildren, as if in fear lest she might . . . the bitter death (?) of the stepmother. Having gathered together the women of Thessaly she bound them by oaths to parch the seed-corn for the winter sowing . . . barrenness . . . release if Phrixus were sacrificed to Zeus . . . to Delphi . . . she persuaded the messenger that . . .’

col. i. 19-20 It is unclear whether the marginal letters are parts of two separate corrections or additions or simply onc. Άρρο[ν]ς, P.J.P.

20 αυ: Λυκοῦργος? Similarly in l. 27.

25 ε]ξ αυ[του, -των?

col. ii. 4 τήν μ[ητέρα quite likely.

6 Any connection between μητέρα here and in 2455 203 (Bond, *ibid.* 21) is only apparent because the fragment in the latter containing these letters is wrongly placed. On re-examining the papyrus I found that if positioned there it would physically overlap the letters above. It appears separately in the frame in the British Library (inv. no. 3038) as unpublished fr. 167. We cannot tell the length of either example of the hypothesis but it is reasonable to assume that i 19-30 is also part of the *Hypsipyle*.

7 ευρον: 3rd pl. aor. with Thoas and Euneus as subject? The following combination of letters ought to be decipherable but there is insufficient ink. Possibilities include ἀντι τῆ[ς and part of ἀπατέω and less likely, ἀνά τη[ς, ἀπάτη, or part of ἀπατάω.

8 θανμ[.] or θουμτ.?

9 αν.νρ[αι γὰρ] possible.

14 τὸ]ν παῖδ[α must refer to Archemorus; τῶ]ν would extend too far to the left.

14-15 On Luppe's suggestion, see *introd.* para. 1, 2455 218-20 would be the end of the *Hypsipyle* hypothesis. There is no apparent overlap with this text.

16-25 The underlined words and letters are supplements from 2455 221-32.

17 Fr. 821 N². Since the supplement of l. 18 to make a line of 31 letters seems virtually certain, the ἀρχή plus the usual phrase ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις here in l. 17 would be rather long at 39 letters and the same combination in the *Hypsipyle* hypothesis even longer at 43. It suggests that in this text ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις was omitted.

19 Θετταλῶν: Θετταλις 2455 225.

ἔ]χων παιδας, 35 letters;] δε παιδα[ς] 2455 225. It seems necessary to omit δε here to make the line short enough.

20 2455 227 as printed has []ενε *Ἰνῶι* τη[ι] *Καδμῶ*υ πα[ι], for which H. Lloyd-Jones in *Guomion* 35 (1963) 441 suggested a different division,]εν [ε] *Ἰνῶι* τη[ι]. Re-examination of the papyrus indicates]εν *Ἰνῶι* τη[ι] with a dat. in *οἱ*, not *οἰ*, *contra* 2455 227 n. In 2455 I should judge, if the spacing of letters is roughly constant, that seven to eight letters are needed in l. 226 after *Φριξόν* and five before *Ἰνῶι* in l. 227. The dat. presupposes a verb of marrying and hence, e.g. *κυνώκετος* (see H. I. L. -). 2455 226-7 could then run *Φριξόν* [ε]τη[ι] δ[ι]ε *κυνώκετος*]εν *Ἰνῶι* τη[ι] *Καδμῶ*υ πα[ι] and 3652 20-1, *ἔτι δὲ* [καὶ *κυνώκετος*]εν *Ἰνῶι* τη[ι] | *Καδμῶ*υ παιδ[ι] (the addition of *καὶ* makes a line of 29 letters).

21 A verb of 'begetting' seems required here, though there is insufficient room for the names of Ino's children. Perhaps [ἔ]χε δὲ *τέκνα δύο* c. 4, P.J.P. If they were not characters in the play, there might be no need to mention them. 2455 227-8, however, could accommodate them: πα[ιδ]ι, *ε*χε δὲ *Λελαρχῶν* καὶ *Μελικερτῶν*.]

22-5 The supplements in these lines are aided by 2455 228-32 and fr. 78 and 85, *πικρόν* in l. 24 of this text makes it possible to place 2455 fr. 78 with *πικροί*. [in its fourth line at the beginning of l. 231. In addition, fr. 85,]εμη[ι], is the supplemented *εμη*] of l. 229; the *τ* in fr. 85, 2 is part of *τ* of *της μητρυν[α]ς* in l. 230. If these two fragments are put in position and the whole reread in the light of the new hypothesis, ll. 228-32 now run:

], *α*δε των π[ρο-
γ]ορων [c. 9] *ε*μηχανατο κα[θα-
περ φο[ι] 9-10], *ν* της μητρυν[α]
πικρον[12-13] η[ν] *κυκαλε-*
[caca γ]αρ [c. 11], *να* [c. 4]
], *κ*σ[ι]

The last line may be part of *κατρεθαλ*] of our text, but this is much more uncertain. The new positions of fr. 78 and 85 make the position of fr. 16 suggested in XXVII, p. 65 most unlikely, since it is now too close to them to provide any run of sense.

22 *τά*: *τά* or e.g. *κα*] *τά*. The divergences here between 3652 and 2455 could be resolved by e.g. 3652 *ή δέ*] | *τά* . . . , 2455 *τὰ δέ* . . . *αὐτῆ* (P.J.P.) but since the space between *προγόνων* and the main verb, whose subject is Ino, is about the same, i.e. c. 9 letters, in both texts, the wording at this point was probably the same. If Ino was not identified in this sentence, she was presumably the subject of the previous sentence. But this makes it difficult to provide supplements to fit the readings and spacing of 3652 and 2455. Also possible are 3652 *κα*] | *τά* and 2455 228 *τὰ δέ*.

22 *τὰ τῶν προγόνων διαφθορῆναι ἐμηχανήσατο* οἱ κα]] *τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιβουλῆν, διαφθορὰν, τοιαῦτα* P.J.P.

23 *καθῆπερ [φοβουμένη μὴ τὸν τῆς μη]τρυνῶς πικρόν θ[άνατον πάθῃ]* would suit the space in both texts, P.J.P.

24 van Looy's idea (op. cit. 182; cf. Webster 131) that *κυκαλε*] in l. 231 refers to Ino summoning the women to parch the corn is vindicated.

25 30 letters. Cf. Hyginus' *totius generis matronis. va*, which might be part of *γυνή*, occurs in a suitable position in 2455 232.

25-6 *ἔρκοις κατρεθαλίσατο* seems inevitable especially in view of Hyginus' *comitavit*, but the example quoted in LSJ s.v. *κατρεθαλίσομαι* is late, Just. Nov. 102 Praef.

26 34 letters. *φρόγυν*, cf. Apollod. loc. cit. *ἐπέρμα πύρρον* seems the best equivalent of *πυρό* accommodating an ending *-ρον*; unless *πυρόν θερι*] | *νόν* (J. R. Rea).

27 *σποράν*, cf. Hyginus' *in semetlem*.

27 *χρ[ι]μερνήν*. Late in the year was the usual time for sowing in Greece, as in Italy; see A. Jardé, *Les Céréales dans l'antiquité grecque* 22-3.

To suggest reasonably secure supplements for the rest of the column is more hazardous, because although the gist is clear, comparison with Apollodorus and Hyginus indicates that the order of phrases is different.

29 Ino's wishes or hopes about the intended sacrifice of Phrixus are referred to earlier here than in the sources, where the equivalent phrasing is part of her instructions to Athamas' messenger(s).

30 Ino is the subject of *ἔπεισε*. 29-31 perhaps run something like *διὰ θθάμας*] | *εἰς Δελφοῖς ἀπ[᾿]ἐπεμψεν ἄλλ' Ἰνῶ τὸν ἀγγε]λῶν ἔπεισε ὥς . . .*

31 *ἔπεισε ὥς*. The hypotheses generally avoid hiatus (W. S. Barrett, *CQ* ns 15 (1965) 61 n. 2, 62 n. 1). But in any case this one could easily be avoided: perhaps write *ἔπεισε<ν>*.

3653. HYPOTHESES TO SOPHOCLES, *Nauplios Katapleōn* AND *Niobe*45 5B. 55/K(1)^a

Fr. 1 11.4 × 17.2 cm

Fr. 2 12.4 × 21 cm

Second century

These tattered and rubbed fragments of papyrus contain the end of the hypothesis to Sophocles' *Nauplios Katapleōn*, parts of that to the *Niobe*, and traces of two more. The hand is a not particularly well-executed semi-cursive which shows considerable variety in its letter-forms. It is closely similar in type but not the same as the hand of XLII 3013, a hypothesis to a *Tereus*, almost certainly Sophocles', which is dated to the second or third century. A date in the middle of the second century may seem preferable when one compares the first hand of V 841 (= C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 14a), assigned to the middle of the second century, and BGU I 300 (= W. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 24), dated to AD 148, which though a more crudely and cursively written documentary hand, is similar in many of its letter-forms and ligatures. The letters of the present hand are irregular both in size and spacing, so that the estimation of the number of letters lost at the edges and in gaps is made more hazardous. Most strokes are thick, but the rising oblique of chi and the upper oblique of kappa are noticeably fine and elongated; kappa in fr. 1. 8 has a largish hook on its upper stroke. Epsilon and xi are cursive forms but eta and kappa are always capital shapes. There are no punctuation-marks or lectional signs apart from diaereses in fr. 1. 2 and fr. 2 i 26. A second hand has made corrections in fr. 2 i 17.

The text is on the back of a document, probably a register, with the writing upside-down in relation to that on the front. The writing of the document is badly rubbed and irregularly spaced, with long and short lines and considerable areas of blank papyrus between the entries, which have been made by two different hands, one fairly fine, the other thicker and heavier. From the traces of one or other hand of the document, joins in the verso text could be confirmed. There are two fragments. Fr. 1 comes from the top part of a column, and contains a top margin of at least 3.5 cm and the right-hand ends of 19 or 20 lines. Fr. 2 comes from the bottom of a column complete with lower margin of 2.5 cm or more, and again has the right-hand ends of lines; the bottom eleven are complete or almost so in their right-hand parts. To the right are a forked paragraphus and the beginnings of thirteen lines in a second column as well as the traces of another seven lines further up. Down the right-hand side of both fragments is clearly visible the edge where a second sheet has been glued on. Since the papyrus has been turned upside-down for reuse, the join is, as it were, an uphill one, but in both fragments the ends of the lines fall short of this join by about the same amount, i.e. 7-8 mm. It looks as though the scribe deliberately ended his lines so that he did not have to write over the join. From the edge of the join to the broken edge of the papyrus is c. 2 cm; the width of this overlap, and the neatness of the break, suggest that the papyrus fractured down one side of the original join. (The joins are not visible on the recto.) Again in both fragments the left part of the second sheet is characterized by a rougher surface and

several prominent reddish fibres. All this favours placing fr. 2 below fr. 1 as part of the same column.

Fr. 2 was originally six separate pieces, five of which join to form the text down to i 16; most of these joins are confirmed by possible letter-combinations. The final join made by placing this piece above i 17 is certain only from the fibre-pattern. A small blank piece has been placed in the margin of fr. 1.

Attempts at identifying the fragmentary trimeter in fr. 1. 8 have failed. The name Zethus in fr. 1 i 27 at first brings to mind Euripides' *Antiope* (see T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, 205–11), in which we know from P. Petrie I 1 that at the end of the play Hermes prophesied the rule of the twins Amphion and Zethus over Thebes, their building of the city walls, and their marriages. There is not enough prophecy to account for the references in fr. 2 i 24 and 25, *Ἀπόλλων* and *τὰς κατ' οἶκον κόρας ἐτόξευεν*. These fit better the later history of Amphion and Zethus, recounted for instance in Apollod. 3. 5. 6, where Apollo and Artemis shoot the male and female children of Amphion's wife, Niobe, because she has insulted their mother Leto by claiming that she is better off with her numerous children than Leto with her two. *κρέβετα* in fr. 1. 9 (a verb used especially of the love between parents and children), *Ἀητοῦς* (l. 10), *τοὺς ἄρρενας* (l. 11), *τοὺς νεκρούς* (fr. 2 i 20), *Ἀμφίων* (l. 21), and *Ζῆθος* and *Νιόβη* in l. 27 also favour this interpretation.

No Euripidean title suits this story; there is no mention anywhere of a Euripidean *Niobe* and the scholia on *Phoen.* 159–60, when discussing the number of Niobe's children, mention his *Cresphontes* but not a *Niobe*, the obvious choice if it existed. Aristoph. *Frogs* 911–24 and the *Life of Aeschylus* indicate that in Aeschylus' *Niobe* the children were long dead by the time the play began. Nothing in the hypothesis, however, seems to conflict with what we know of Sophocles' *Niobe*. There are four book-fragments, amounting to fourteen words (S. Radt, *TrGF* iv, fr. 447–50), six papyrus fragments re-edited by W. S. Barrett in an appendix to R. Carden's *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* 171–235 (= fr. 441a–445a R), and five references: Schol. T to *Il.* 24. 602, Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 159 already mentioned, Lact. Placid. on Stat. *Theb.* 6. 117, Ath. 601 A–B, and Schol. S. *OC* 684 (= p. 363; fr. 446 and the commentary on fr. 448 and 451 R). I am heavily indebted to Mr Barrett's collection of sources and to his analysis of the contribution made by these scanty pieces to our knowledge of the play.

Assuming that Sophoclean hypotheses are arranged alphabetically in the same way as the Euripidean ones, the possibilities for fr. 1. 1–6 are another title beginning with nu or one beginning with mu. From the possible titles given in Radt, pp. 338–73, it is then possible to see that fr. 1. 1 has part of the name Nauplius and that the hypothesis belonged to *Nauplios Katapleōn* or *Nauplios Pyrkaeus*. Since no other tragedian wrote both a *Niobe* and a *Nauplios*, these hypotheses are Sophoclean.

Of the two *Nauplios* plays there are fifteen book-fragments, four (fr. 425–8 R) attributed to the *Nauplios Katapleōn*, three to the *Nauplios Pyrkaeus* (fr. 429–31 R) and six (fr. 433–8 R) simply to *Nauplios*. (See Radt, pp. 353–5 for quotation and discussion of

the myths surrounding Nauplius.) The most famous incidents associated with him concern his revenge for the death of his son, Palamedes, who had earned Odysseus' bitter enmity by revealing that his madness was feigned and so forcing him to go to Troy. Subsequently, at the instigation of Odysseus, Palamedes was put to death by the Greeks. Apollod. *Epit.* 6. 9 and Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432 tell us that on hearing this news Nauplius sailed to the Greek camp to demand vengeance for his son's death but was unsuccessful owing to the Greeks' support for Agamemnon. He consequently sailed along the Greek coast, inciting the heroes' wives to commit adultery, and later lured the Greeks returning from Troy on to the rocks of Euboea by lighting false beacons. Despite PSI XII 1287, which throws doubt on the authenticity of *Nauplios Pyrkaeus*, Hsch. π 2020 and ν 119, Hdn. 2. 937, 5 (Lentz), and Pollux 9. 156 give clear evidence for this Sophoclean title. The *Fire-kindler* must have related the lighting of the false beacons and the destruction of the Greek fleet on the Euboean coast.

Fr. 1. 1, *Ναύπλιος ὃς τὴν κρίειν ἄθετεῖ*, and 5, *ἀσπλεῖ*, clearly do not relate Nauplius' fire-kindling activities and must, therefore, come from a hypothesis to the other Nauplius play, which ended with Nauplius sailing away and, one can assume, threatening vengeance (see nn. ad loc.). Since neither the book-fragments nor the ancient authorities provide any evidence for the plot, J. Geffcken in *Hermes* 26 (1891) 38, arguing from Apollod. 2. 1. 5, where Nauplius is said to have died a death similar to that which he inflicted on his adversaries, thought that a plot could be constructed round his return home by sea and subsequent death. This can no longer stand now that we know that Nauplius sailed away alive at the end. Pearson favoured the idea that the play centred round his seduction of the Greek heroes' wives and especially his persuasion of Idomeneus' son, Leucus, to seize his father's power and kill his wife and daughter; *καταπλέων* would, therefore, refer to his landing on the shores of Greece, cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6. 9 *παρὰ πλέων τὰς χώρας τὰς Ἑλληνίδας*. On the other hand, Huschke and Nauck took the view that *καταπλέων* meant 'landing at the Greek camp near Troy' and that Nauplius arrived to exact vengeance for his son's death but without success (see further, Radt, p. 354 for conjectures about the plot). *ἀσπλεῖ* will then refer to his sailing away from Troy after his failure; this plot would seem to offer the greatest dramatic possibilities.

Although we are now certain about the subject of the *Nauplios Katapleōn* and that Oiax was a *dramatis persona* (fr. 1. 4), the *Niobe* hypothesis for its length contributes disappointingly little. The mythographic sources (see fr. 1. 7 n.) give little relating specifically to Sophocles' *Niobe*. The only sure information we have now gained is that Sophocles had the boys sent on a hunt (fr. 1. 11), that Apollo killed the boys and Artemis the girls at home (fr. 2 i 18–20), and that the boys' deaths took place first. Amphion and Zethus are *dramatis personae*, the former being killed, the latter entering at the end of the play in place of a *deus ex machina* (fr. 2 i 21–7).

The fact that the *Niobe* hypothesis follows straight on from *Nauplios Katapleōn* without room for *Nauplios Pyrkaeus* or *Nausicaa* (if the latter did not appear under the

alternative title *Plyntriai*) is not significant, because the sequence of Euripidean hypotheses, at any rate, was alphabetized only to the first letter (cf. e.g. XXVII 2455). The remains of the third and fourth hypotheses in fr. 2 ii are too scanty to allow of identification.

A list of papyrus hypotheses is given by M. Papathomopoulos in *Rech. de Pap.* 3 (1964) 37-8, to which are now to be added for Menander those of the *Dis Exapatōn* in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 5-7 and further in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 136, and probably of the *Hauton Timōroumenos* in XXXI 2534; and for Euripides those of the *Andromache* and *Alexandros* now reprinted in this volume as 3650, the *Phoenissae* in XXXI 2544, the *Auge* in P. Köln I 1, the *Syleus* (part of XXVII 2455) in *ZPE* 4 (1969) 43-4 and 173, a hypothesis to *Temenos* or *Temenidae* in P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII pp. 133-6 (see now *ZPE* 40 (1980) 39-42), and 3013, a hypothesis to a *Tereus*, mentioned above. W. Luppe in *Philologus* 122 (1978) 6 ff.; 125 (1981) 181-7; 126 (1982) 10-18 and 313-15; *ZPE* 49 (1982) 15-21; 52 (1983) 43-4; *Anagynōchis* 2. 1 (1982) 74-82; 2. 2 (1982) 265-71; and *SCO* 32 (1982) 231-3 has

fr. 1

]υπλιοςοστηνκρισιναθεττει
] . . [. .] . εϋπαρχειντογτ[. .] . μεν
] . αιπρροαντογκ[. .] . σφιμηλη
] κελεφεικατοδυρομεγουδοια
 5] πλιοςαποπλειτοιελλησινα
] vac.
] ναρ[. .] ηδε
] . .] σιηλιουτεκναηδυποθεσις
] ννιοβητογονστερξασαπολλα
 10] διαναμεινονατηκλητουξεφησεν
] δεεπιθηραγτουσαρρηναςμετα
] νεπαντομ[.] εμε . . . ημ[. .] . σεν
] παρχονσαμ. τ. [.] τωνδεκατατας
] γγυα[. .] ν[c. 7] σχηματιπα[
 15] οσαυτη[.] κ[c. 7]] ταςμεμ
] νσα[. .] . [c. 10] . σεαυ[
] εγγον[c. 16]] ωσα
] σεπ. [c. 16] . .] . ει
] ε[.] νς[c. 18] .] . c
 20] . .]

discussed several of these texts, suggested identifications of unplaced fragments and new supplements, and given further bibliography.

In their general style and in the simple use of δέ as a conjunction and the occasionally recherché vocabulary, these two hypotheses are to be closely compared with those of Euripides. M. W. Haslam in *GRBS* 16 (1975) 150-6 discusses the authorship of the corpus of Euripidean hypotheses represented in the papyri and in more or less altered form in the medieval MSS and attributes them to Dicaearchus of Messene, a pupil of Aristotle. An opposing view is taken by J. Rusten, *GRBS* 23 (1982) 357-67. The only evidence directly relating to the Sophoclean side of this question is Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* 3. 3, where he talks about the use of the word *υπόθεσις* and says that Dicaearchus wrote *υποθέσεις των Ευριπίδου και Σοφοκλέους μύθων*. Whoever the author, these two hypotheses (together with the slightly anomalous *Tereus* hypothesis), with their similar lay-out, style, and content, are undoubtedly part of the other half of this corpus.

fr. 1

c. 14 Να]ύπλιος, δε την κρίσειν ἀθεττει
 c. 16] . . [. .] . εϋπαρχειν τούτ[. .] . μεν
] και πρὸς αὐτοὺς κ[α]λῶς ὁμειλή-
] κελεύει. κατοδυρομένου δ' Οἴα-
 5 καυ
 5 κοc c. 10 Ναύ]πλιος ἀποπλει τοῖς Ἑλλησινα-
] vac.
 Νιόβη ο]ύ ἄρ[χ]ῆ] ἦδε
] . .] σιηλιουτεκνα η δ' υπόθεσις
] ν Νιόβη τὸ <ν> χρόνον στερέξασα πολλα
 10 c. 14] διαν ἄμεινονα τῆς Αἰητοῦς ἔφησεν
] δὲ ἐπὶ θήραγ τοὺς ἄρρηνας μετὰ
] ν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς [.] εμε . . . ημ[. .] . σεν
 ὕ]πάρχονσα μήτη[ρ] τῶνδε κατὰ τὰς
] ν γγυα[. .] ν[c. 7]] σχηματι πα[
 15] οσαυτη[.] κ[c. 7]] ταςμεμ
] νσα[. .] . [c. 10] . σεαυ[
] εγγον[c. 16]] ωσα
] σεπ. [c. 16] . .] . ει
] ε[.] νς[c. 18] .] . c
 20] . .]

fr. 2	col. i	col. ii
	]ητωγαγα. [
	]μεγαυτουσα [	α [
	]ωνφεκωησφ [	λ. [
	]τηνα. ειρουη [	ε. . [
5	]λητ[.]υσφ [. . [
	]ν. , εραδ [. [
	]ησπεκαλ [. [
	] . αντησ [
	] . στηνι[. .] . [. .] . [
10	] . [ . ] . [ . . ] . ορον[.]ιαταταραχ. [. [
	] . βο[. . .]ματιδιαμενουσατο [
	] . [ . . ]λαβε. θαιθυμον. [
	] . λυσζ. . φοβωκ. [
	]αντησ[. . .] . θεν. [. . .] . . [
15	]κω. ας. [. .] . . [.]αιτη. . . [. .] [.] . [
	]ειων. [. . .] ε. ρο [c. 7] [. [
] . [. .] . [. . [. .] . [
	]ςδυοκ. . ιζ. τι. . εχον[[ως]] [. .]ςεν [. . [. .] . [
	]εστγηραπωλεξιαυαυτωνεξαπολλω	ετ. [. .] . [
	]β[.]δετο. [. .] . ζουσυμπαθουσακατα	απε [
20	] . . . [ . ] . οικ. τουσνεκρουσεκαλες [	. . [ . . ] . c [
	] . πυθόμενος δε ταυτά αμφι[ω]νωιδι	τα. . ε [
	] . ηκα. [.] . [.] . ζωπωνεισμαχηηκαταν [
	] . η. . . . δετουθεουκαθοπλιστα[. .]ε	αν. . [
	]ευθεισμετηλλαξεγαπολλωνδενε [. . [. [
25	]μιδικαιτακατοικονκορασετοξευεν	ο. . [
	]ςδα[. . .] . ωτηνυπεροχηητοιςθεοις	. αι. [
	]αραγεν[. .]ενοςδεζηθοςιοβημην	. . . [

fr. 2	col. i
	Α]ητώ γάρ α. [
	]μεν αὐτούς α [
	]ων ἐκείνης ο [
	]τηνα. ειρουη [
5	] Αητ[ο]βς ο [
	]ν. , εραδ [
	]ης ἐπεκαλ [
	] . αντησ [
	] . στηνι[. .] . [. .] . [
10	] . [ . ] . [ . . ] . ορον [δ]ιὰ τὰ ταραχάμ[ατα
	ἐ]ν βο[υλή]ματι διαμένονσα τρ [
	] . [ . . ] λαβέσθαι θυμόν . [
	] . λυσζῶν φόβω κ. [
	]αντησ[. . .] . θεν. [. . .] . . [
15	c. 12]κω. ας. [. .] . . [.]αιτη. . . [. .] [.] . [
	]ειων. [. . .] ε. ρο [c. 7] [
] . [. .] . [
	]ς δύο κ. . ιζ. τι. . εχον[[ως]] [. .]ςεν
	]εσ δ' ἐ' τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν ἐξ Ἀπόλλω-
νοσ	c. 7 Νιόβ[η] δὲ τοῦ[τ]οις οὐ συμπαθοῦσα κατα
20	] . . . [ . ] . οικρ. τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκάλες [
	] . πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὄ' Ἄμφι[ω]ν ἰωνίδι-
σε	c. 10] . η κατ[ὰ] π[ρ]όσωπον εἰς μάχην κατα-
	] . η. . . . δε τοῦ θεοῦ καθοπλιστα[μ]ε-
c. 9	τοξ]ευθείς μετήλλαξεν. Ἀπόλλων δ' ἐνε [
25	Ἄρτε]μιδι καὶ τὰς κατ' οἶκον κόρας ἐτόξευεν
	]ςδα[. . .] . ω τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς θεοῖς
	π]αραγεν[όμε]νος δὲ Ζῆθος Νιόβην' μὲν

fr. 1
 2] . . . [, mid trace and foot of vertical; high and middle traces with stray dot below, and above α in l. 3 faint oblique sloping down from right to left? χ very doubtful. Letter division may be wrong here] . . . traces, not υ, ε, or ο rather less likely ü, trema by 1st hand as in fr. 2 i 26 τωγτ] . . . first part of υ almost vertical but following ink too close for α to be possible. After lacuna high and low ink; 2nd, top of vertical or part of curve;]ε possible, not [ω] or [σ]; perhaps]μ? 3] . . . oblique, cf. on l. 2; possibly elongated upper oblique of κ rising over α, cf. *κατοδυρομένου* in l. 4 κ[] . . . or κ . . . ; 1st, top of vertical; 2nd, slightly oblique stroke, forming right half of letter; α or ω possible, not ο or υ ρ, α also possible 4 ε, only right tip of ε visible close to ι; not part of oblique of υ with right hasta following because in this hand they always join; therefore not ε]κε]ε]φ[ο]γ 7]υ, oblique rising from base of letter; not c or η 8] . . . , mid ink; vertical hooked to left at top, γ, υ, or π—left of λ unlikely—if γ, υ, or π, top of right hasta or cross-bar also visible; 3rd and 4th, high trace followed by remains of two verticals: perhaps only one letter, i.e. . . . c 9]υβ, or , τ or τ το, τ corr. by first hand; either γ with left arc of ο attached to horizontal but corrected to τ by extension of cross-bar to left and addition of another and complete ο slightly further down on right, or τ corr. to c 10 αμφ, a completely different interpretation, λωc, also possible υα, ε possible 12]ι, vertical complete; not η because no remains of cross-bar]κ, foot of ι on partially detached and warped vertical strip of papyrus. ι better than base of υ because strip has to be moved slightly to left to align letters in l. 13 [] . . . when strip of papyrus moved into correct position, space for possibly one letter After εμ vertical ink followed by horizontal trace with more ink descending from it; to right part of downward-pointing oblique—α or ε; then high ink and lower and right-hand side of curve; before η a vertical: ι or ρ with loop missing μ, λ unlikely] . . . two high traces γ on rough fibres, π, ε, τ also possible 13 μc, top of vertical on right of letter τ, high ink close to cross-bar of τ ε, or ε 14]υ, or η [] . . . , space narrower than it appears because of loose strip to right] . . . , low ink with high ink to right linked to υ; α, ε, or ω, not ι 15 η], base of left hasta; π possible rather than τη [] . . . or [] 16 [. . .], or [. . .] . . . [] . . . small amount of vertical ink υ[, almost certainly line-end 17]ε, or α μ, or c]ωφ, obscured by smudges or offsets; ω or μ; c or ε? αβ less likely 18 [] . . . faint low trace [] . . . scattered traces of one or two letters 19 υ, or κ or χ ε, or ε or ο 20] . . . [or] . . . ; trace and top of vertical Down the right-hand side exiguous remains of col. ii

fr. 2 i
 1 α, or ο [] . . . foot of hasta 2]μ, or ω ρμ, meagre traces; other combinations of letters possible; υ, or τ with extended ε joining cross-bar of τ; υ, or ι 3]ω, or μ υ, or π ε, or χ ρ, or ε, or ε, or φ 4]τ, or γ υ, mid ink followed by top and base of vertical; not π After a high ink ε, or α ρ[, or γ, η, ι, κ, π, or τ 5 ρ[, or ε or c 6]β, or τ Next, slight right-facing curve, ε, ο, c, or ω Possibly, [] . . . rather than . . . Before ε top of hasta, η, ι, or υ (?); not π because no cross-bar 7]η, or υ 8] . . . few specks υ, right branch joining cross-bar of τ or latter extending down to left; if so, only mid trace of letter between α and τ η, vertical hooked to right at top and bottom with few specks preceding; ε also possible ε[, or ε 9] . . . foot of vertical and to right another foot of oblique or arc; some offsets ε, ε less likely Space between ε and τ; perhaps word-division Of remaining letters only smudges 10 [] . . . ; 1st, mid trace and foot of descender; ρ or φ; 2nd, part of vertical or curve] . . . faint trace of rising oblique? and low ink to right, e.g. χ μ, foot of vertical: palaeographically, η, υ, or π without preceding lacuna equally possible [] . . . high ink 11] . . . mid trace and remains of vertical to right;] . . . possible αρρ[, horizontal of τ projects leftwards and downwards in large curve or α with long tail to right; unlikely that this is c attached to τ ρ or ω, not ε 12] . . . foot of oblique After ε part of vertical or curve To right below α trace—offset or stray ink? [] . . . low trace 13] . . . low and middle specks ε . . . 1st, vertical or right-facing curve similar to preceding ε; 2nd, probably stroke linking to next letter; 3rd, smudge followed by top of vertical—parts of two letters? [] . . . traces only 14] . . . obscured by offsets; 1st, η, υ, π? If 1st none of preceding, is 2nd υ? 3rd, part of vertical or curve υ, or α [] . . . high ink [] . . . traces only, perhaps of four letters 15]ε, or χ ω . . . , trace to right [] . . . right facing curve, ο? [] . . . ; 1st, α, λ, μ, or ω. If α or λ 1st, is 2nd ε? Next, low oblique and speck to right η, or ι Rest of line multiple traces; last, clear foot of vertical 16 [] . . . high ink [] . . . tops of letters Between ε and ρ traces [] . . . multiple traces including two verticals; first two ε? 17]ε, ε, or ω ρ, ε unlikely κ . . . 1st, high ink; 2nd, bowl of letter: αβ? ζ seems clear but ο attached to horizontal of τ just possible After ι top of curve or left end of horizontal of e.g. τ; one or two letters before ε ωc, deleted in lighter ink; same hand has inserted letters above of which only feet survive]ε, traces of rounded letter 18 λεφμ, scanty traces

19 [] . . . high ink to right [] . . . negligible traces ρ, slightly anomalous because the scribe has not joined the circle neatly 20 [] . . . [] . . . feet of letters [] . . . trace followed by foot of vertical After κ 1st, part of rounded letter; 2nd, low smudge; 3rd, high traces; 4th, vertical, top of oblique, and low ink; 5th, π reasonably certain; 6th, high ink 21] . . . ink along base line and top of vertical; ω or letter linked to? ρ above line is heavy spot of ink inserted before wrong α 22] . . . base of letter and high ink followed by further high ink α, or ο [] . . . π or τ followed by part of another letter. [] . . . π, υ, or λ [] . . . bottom of rounded letter, α, ε, ο, c ε, or ο ω, or α preceded by stray ink π, or τ but latter leaves wide space before ο 23 [] . . . high trace η, or υ or α Of next four various traces; 3rd, right facing curve or vertical with high horizontal [] . . . ε, even allowing for an extended letter at the line-end, cf. fr. 1. 9, two letters rather than one in lacuna? As final letter α also possible 26]ε, speck to right; or ε, [] . . . , traces Diaeresis so wide that first half above preceding υ, but cf. fr. 1. 2 27 μφ, or . φ[] . . . ; for last, η possible

fr. 2 ii

Traces too scanty to be worth description

fr. 1 i τήν κρίνω ἀθετεί. ἀθετεί, 'reject' rather than 'deny, disprove', cf. *LSJ* s.v. I 1 and *TLG* s.v. *Apollod. Epit.* 6. 8 τοῦτο [sc. Palamedes' death] μανθὼ Ναιπύλιος ἐπέλευσε πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλάσθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπῆτει ποινήν and Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432 show that Nauplius sailed to Troy after his son's condemnation and death. This κρίσις, mentioned at the end of a fairly long hypothesis (see below on fr. 1. 16), either refers to something else—perhaps a retrial to prove Palamedes' innocence posthumously or rather an attempt to convict Odysseus of murder, cf. particularly above τήν . . . ἀπῆτει ποινήν—or looks back to an early part of the play where Nauplius may have questioned the condemnation of his son. For his failure, cf. e.g. *Apollod. ibid.* ἀπρακτος δὲ ὑποστρέψας.

A striking peculiarity is the use here and in ll. 4 and 5 of the present tense, against the usual aorist of the hypotheses. One probable instance of the present occurs in XXVII 2457 12 and there are a few in the medieval MSS, which G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* 135 n. 4 thinks are corruptions. Cf. W. S. Barrett, *CQ* ns 15 (1965) 59 (l. 4), 64, and 70–1 on ἀπεκρέθησε in the papyrus hypothesis of the *Phoinissae* and ἀποστρέφει in the Moschopouleian and vulgate versions.

Any calculation of letters lost at the line-beginnings can only be approximate, but the trimeter in fr. 1. 8 is a guide. Taking as a sample the first 100 lines of *OT*, the average number of letters per trimeter is about 30. Since 11 letters are certainly legible plus probably another 5, perhaps 14, or so are missing from the first half of the trimeter, although in the sample the trimeters vary from 26 to 35 letters. Assuming that the beginning of the trimeter is aligned with the main text, and since the broken edge is slightly further to the right in the upper part of the column, about 16 letters are required in each line of the *Nauplius* hypothesis.

2 A main verb is needed after the relative clause in l. 1, perhaps a verb of saying to govern the inf.] . . . [] . . . ε then subject in the acc.?—perhaps π[ά]ν[τ]ας?

ὑπάρχει: various meanings available, 'begin' (the preceding word ending in c could be a part. construed with this), 'exist, be, belong to', but *LSJ* s.v. B. III 2a provides an especially appropriate one, 'to be on a person's side' + dat. of person, τούτ[ω]σιν. 'Nauplius, who rejects the judgement, is angry (*vel sim.*) that all the Greeks (?) side with these? τούτους perhaps the Greek leaders, cf. *Apollod. loc. cit.* ἀπρακτος δὲ ὑποστρέψας, ὡς πάντων χαριζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀγαμέμνονι and Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432 τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατολιγαροῦντων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ κεχαρισμένον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. On the other hand, if τούτ[ω]σιν could be read, this might be Nauplius, with Agamemnon as subject of a verb, cf. on l. 4.

Rules of word-division prevent μφ and the preceding letters from being part of a mid. or pass. part.

3 δέ required in lacuna. καί more likely than e.g. nom. plu. or aor. inf.

πρὸς αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ, πρὸς αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ. I can find no suitable, short word beginning κκ and ending in -ac or beginning with κ; a nom. masc. aor. part. (traces and space incompatible with acc. plu. part.) or a 1st or 3rd decl. acc. plu. possible. Or an adv. in -ωc?

ὀμιλεῖν, an aor. or fut. part. or inf. of ὀμιλέω. ὀμιλέω with πρὸς + acc. means 'to converse with, associate with, deal with' a person. If the preceding word is an adv., I suggest καλῶς, which would just fit the space; cf. e.g. *Isoc. Ep.* 4. 9 καλῶς ὀμιλεῖν τινι and *Isoc.* 2. 24 αὐτως ὀμιλεῖν πρὸς τινι.

4 κελῆς: present needed to maintain the use of the present tense in ἀθετεί and ἀποστρέφει; simple or compound verb. Since κατοδυρομένου δ' begins a new period, κελῆς must go with the preceding line. Probably it governs an aor. inf. ὀμιλεῖν[] . . . αὐτοῦ in l. 3 may be the Greeks stationed at Troy. A suitable subject

for *κελεύει* would be Agamemnon; perhaps something like *καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ καλῶς ἀμειλίη* καὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων *κελεύει*, P.J.P.

οἶα: clearly a case of *Οἶαξ*, Palamedes' brother; a gen. abs. seems certain followed by τὸν ἀδελφὸν *vel sim.*

5 The dat. cannot be construed with ἀποπλεῖ and must go with what follows. Ἐλλήων *a-* rather than Ἐλλήει *na-*; I can find no suitable word beginning *va* except those in *van-*, but splitting of a diphthong is most unlikely. Cf. Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432 *fn.* and Apollod. *Epit.* 6. 9. δι[πυλίων, H.G.T.M.; δι[πυλίων ἀπειλών, P.J.P.

The eleven lines of fr. 432 R, describing the benefits bestowed by Palamedes on mankind, are said by their source, Achilles Tatius, *Isag. in Arat.* 1 (p. 27. 5 Maass) to have been spoken by Nauplius. Since the *Katapleῖon* seems to be about his search for vengeance, they would be appropriate for a father's defence of his son.

7 The beginning of the *Niobe* hypothesis. Her story is mentioned in a large number of writers, but the only accounts of any length are found in Schol. A and D on *Il.* 24. 602–17, Apollod. 3. 5. 6, and Hyg. 9. 2–4 and a long passage in *Ov. Met.* 6. 148–312. The sources are discussed in Radt, p. 363 and most comprehensively in Barrett, 223–35. In all the story is essentially the same: Niobe has a large number of children and claims that she is superior to Leto, who has only two; Apollo and Artemis then kill Niobe's children, while Niobe herself is turned to stone, the stone form being still visible, weeping, on Mount Sipylus in Lydia. That she is a Lydian, daughter of Tantalus, wife of Amphion, and living at Thebes where her children are killed is not mentioned in the *Iliad* but is found regularly in later accounts and in the four lengthier treatments. As for details specifically attributed to Sophocles, we know from the Schol. T on the *Iliad* passage that ἡ δὲ συμφορὰ αὐτῆς, ὡς μὲν τινες, ἐν Λυδίᾳ, ὡς δὲ ἔτιοι, ἐν Θήβαις. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἐν Θήβαις ἀπολέσθαι, νοστήσαι δὲ αὐτῆν εἰς Λυδίαν. There was considerable controversy among ancient authors about the number of Niobe's children, Homer for instance having 6 boys and 6 girls but Aeschylus, Sophocles (Schol. Eur. *Ph.* 159 and Lact. Placid on Stat. *Th.* 6. 117), Euripides, and Aristophanes all having 7 sons and 7 daughters.

From the three principal mythographic sources it can be seen that Apollo and Artemis are sent by their mother, Apollo to kill the boys and Artemis the girls. In Barrett's 9 fr. 3, pp. 200–13 (fr. 442 R) Artemis is killing the girls but there is no evidence for the killing of the boys. The *Iliad* scholia and Apollodorus state that the boys die while hunting on Mount Cithaeron; Hyginus says *in silva*, but this could well be on Cithaeron. Ovid has the boys killed while they exercise on a *campus* near the town, although since he is the only source for this variation, it may be his own invention prompted by exercises in the *Campus Martius*. In art there are representations of Niobids being killed in an outdoor setting, twice on rocky ground (see Barrett 229 n. 141). Ath. 601 a–b and Plu. *Moralia* 760 d–e (fr. 448 R) provide one piece of concrete evidence for the action of this part of Sophocles' *Niobe*: some or all of the boys had lovers and when they were dying, one of them summoned his lover to help him; this surely indicates an outdoor scene and one in which the girls played no part. It is possible that Barrett's 9 fr. 1, pp. 186–92 (fr. 443 R) is part of a speech reporting the killing of the boys outside. In the *Iliad* scholia, Apollodorus, and Hyginus the girls are killed at home. In Ovid the girls are standing by their brothers' biers, presumably indoors, while there is a painted marble plaque from Pompeii showing Niobe, a nurse, and two daughters in an architectural setting (R. M. Cook, *Niobe and Her Children*, no. 15). From the papyrus fragments it is clear that Sophocles too portrayed the girls' deaths at home. There is then the further question of whether any of the Niobids survived. In the earliest account of the legend in the *Iliad*, in Eur. *Cresphontes* (fr. 455 N²) and *Ph.* 159, and later in Ovid all the sons and daughters died; but Apollodorus and Paus. 5. 16. 4 mention the survival of one boy and one girl or in Hyginus' case of just one girl. Barrett in discussing his 9 fr. 4, pp. 214–20 (fr. 444 R) suggests the possibility that one of the girls did survive.

η]: not the *c* of ἡς expected after a feminine title. All the other headings extant in the papyrus hypotheses have the relative agreeing in gender and number with the title. The play is always referred to by ancient authors simply as *Niόβη* and not with a masc. or neut. noun + (τῆς) *Niόβης*. Another of Sophocles' plays, however, the *Ajax*, was, according to the medieval hypothesis, entitled by Dicaearchus *Αἰάτωος θάνατος*. Here there seem two possible headings: either τὸ δρᾶμα *Niόβης*, which would fit the space but would not allow for any indentation (cf. W. J. W. Koster, *Jo. Tzetzae Commentarii in Aristophanem* 4. 3, 691 Ὑποθέσει δρᾶματος Βαρβάρων Ἄριστοφάνους) or secondly, and I think more likely, *Niόβη οὐ ἀρχὴ ἦδε*, where the title is treated as equalling τὸ δρᾶμα. For the use of a neut. rel. with a masc. or fem. antecedent see B. G. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek* i. 126 and B. Jowett and L. Campbell III on Plato, *Rep.* 359 c.

ηρ[.]: space for *χ* and *η* fairly wide, but not too wide for words forming part of a heading. The form with the demonstrative pronoun is new.

8 Before *c* the only vowels palaeographically possible are *i* and less probably *υ*.

If ἡλίου is right (*-ηου* is unlikely palaeographically), there are difficulties. If *τέκνα* goes with it, there

might be a connection between the seven sons of Helios (see e.g. *RE* s.v. Helios 78–83) and Niobe's seven sons. Whether the words are to be taken together or as ἡλίου, *τέκνα*, a vocative is quite possible, cf. the addresses at the beginning of all Sophocles' extant plays except the *Trachiniae* and *Philoctetes*. If ἡλίου, *τέκνα*, the children could be the chorus (cf. *OT* 1) or Niobe's children (though Barrett loc. cit. concludes that Niobe's children were not the chorus). In that case ἡλίου might refer to a dawn departure by the boys for the hunt (see l. 11 and cf. Eur. *Phaeth.* 75 Diggle), P.J.P.

9 The first part of the plot summary ought, as is usual in hypotheses, to contain one or more names and some genealogical information, but *Niόβη* is perhaps uncertain. She must, however, be mentioned somewhere in ll. 9 or 10 to govern *τέρέσκα*. If *Niόβη* is read, perhaps ἡ τοῦ Ταυτάλο]υ (11 letters).

τὸ <υ> γήου: the omission could be explained by haplography but the need to add <υ> is suspicious. Alternatively read], *περις*], τ]σο[ε]ρον 2, so that possibly: *Niόβη τοὺς παῖδας* περιεστέρον *τέρέσκα*, P.J.P.

10]διαν suggests e.g. *εὐπαιδῖαν* or *πολυπαιδῖαν*. ἄμεινονα is difficult to read, the initial *a* being placed unusually far from the *μ*. The two clear *ν*'s exclude a comparative in *-τερα*, cf. the *Il.* scholia *ibid.*, *εὐτεκνωτέρα αὐτῆς* and Apollod. loc. cit., *τῆς Ἀητοῦ εὐτεκνωτέρα*. Since, as Niobe is speaking of herself, a nom. and inf. is needed, ἄμεινονα has to qualify a preceding substantive. The lacuna could be filled with e.g. *διὰ πολυπαιδῖαν* (10 letters); (*διὰ εὐπαιδῖαν* too short at 8 letters), *καὶ ἔχουσα εὐπολυπαιδῖαν* (14/16 letters), *ἔχειν τὴν εὐπολυπαιδῖαν* (13/15 letters). For *πολυπαιδῖαν* and *εὐπαιδῖαν* see Isoc. 9. 72. πολλὰ[μει τὴν ἰδιαν εὐπαιδῖαν ἄμεινονα . . . P.J.P. *Ἀητοῦ* could also be a gen. of comparison after another comparative adj. or after e.g. *περιγενέσθαι* at the beginning of l. 11.

ἔφηεν: for the more unusual *c*-aor. see Mayer i 2. 200 and e.g. Hdt. 3. 153 and Xen. *Anab.* 5. 8. 5.

11 e.g. *συνέβη*] δὲ *προερχομένους*] δὲ, P.J.P. Presumably it is Niobe or Leto who sends the young men on a hunt. No compound of *μετα-* is suitable, but if *μετά*, perhaps *μετὰ* | [τῶν ἐραστῶν . . . cf. Ath. 60 a–b and Plu. *Moralia* 760 d–e. This would leave about four letters before]υ in l. 12.

12 The readings in the middle of the line are difficult. I had thought]υμεεσσῶη from *νεμεσῶν*, but against this is the need to assume double *c* (see Mayer i 1³, pp. 193–4) and for a new subject before the return probably to Leto in l. 13. It is a rare word in prose, but is used especially of the gods, 'to feel resentment, be angry with'. Arist. *Rh.* 1387^b6 couples it with *ἐπί* and the dat. If this is an opt.,]υ is *δ'*; but 'in order that someone might be angry with them' (sc. the boys) does not give good sense. If not,]υ may be part of an inf. in *-εν*. Ἄρτεμι]υ is not appropriate here in connection with the boys. Mr Parsons has made a brilliant suggestion for the second half of the line: *εμεγαλορημ]ηεν*; the only slight drawbacks are that there will be a wide space after *αὐτοῖς* (see app. crit.) and *-ρημ-* has to be assumed for *-ρημ-* (cf. Mayer i 1³, p. 187). Niobe would then be the subject, 'sending off her sons to the hunt, she congratulated herself on them'. Perhaps she commented that they were real men, unlike the long-haired Apollo, and that her daughters' *σχῆμα* (l. 14) was more feminine than Artemis' (cf. *Il.* scholia and Hyginus). It would be entirely plausible to have the central character show on stage the *ἔβρις* which led to her downfall. This would also indicate that the hypothesis adhered fairly closely to the sequence of scenes in the play. Ll. 11–13 might run something like (P.J.P.):

μέλλουσα] δὲ ἐπὶ θήραν τοὺς ἄρρενα μετὰ
τῶν ἐραστῶν πέμπε]εν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐμεγαλορημ]όν]ηεν
ὡς ἀρίτων ὑπάρχουσα μήτη[ρ] τῶνδε

13 *μηστ'* α[ὐ]τῶν just possible but *δε* is then left hanging; if *τῶνδε*, too much space for *μετὰ*. *μήτη[ρ]* τῶνδε fits the traces well. But *τῶν δε* is another possibility.

κατατας: *κατὰ τὰς* (κόρας?) or *κατὰ τὰ ε-* (ἕτερα παιδία?).

14 Some case of *γυνή*. If *ν*, perhaps τῆ]υ (or adj.) *γυνα[ῖς]* α ν]. If *η*, not τῆ *γυναίαι* because final *i* not possible.

πα], a case of *πάς*?

15 *αυτῆ]*, *αὐτῆ* or *αὐτῆς*; or τ]σοαῦτῆ].

μεμ]. l. 16 must therefore begin with a consonant; perhaps a word from the root of *μέμφομαι* or a form of *μῆμνημα*.

16 τ]υε πά[ντα]ς or πα[ῖδα]ς?

What happens between here and fr. 2 i 17 is very uncertain.

The only incidents I am able to suggest are something like those related by *Ov. Met.* 6. 157–203. Teiresias' daughter, Manto, went through the streets of Thebes urging the Theban women to go to Leto's temple and offer incense and prayers to her and her children. Niobe appeared and rebuked them for worshipping Leto and not Niobe herself, who was too great for fortune to harm; even if many of her children were taken from her,

she would still have more than Leto. At her bidding the women removed the laurel wreaths from their hair and left.

If fr. 1 and 2 come from separate columns, a minimum of seven lines are lost in fr. 1—seven more lines in addition to the scanty remains of the lower part of fr. 1, for which some action would have to be found. Not only is this difficult but it makes the account of the children's deaths very summary by comparison. If fr. 1 and 2 are from the same column, they can be placed so that fr. 2 1 1 forms part of fr. 1. 20 or follows at a short distance below it. Such a position would make a column of at least 46 lines and 36.7 cm in height, which, though tall, is quite possible. 28–30 cm is a good height in the Roman period and more than c. 37 cm is rare. (Cf. the height of VI 852, Eur. *Hyps.*)

Given that the *Niobe* hypothesis is near its conclusion at the foot of fr. 2 col. i, and that, let us say, two more lines are required for its completion at the top of col. ii, then, if the two fragments come from adjacent columns, the hypothesis, including heading and *ἀρχή*, will have been at least 50 lines in length, i.e. fr. 1. 7–20+ at least 7 more at the foot, fr. 2. 1–27+2 more in the next column. Since we know by the paragraphus that a third hypothesis finished at col. ii. 24, this would at its maximum be only 22 lines long, less than half the length of the *Niobe*. However, by aligning fr. 2 under fr. 1, there is a minimum of 40 lines in col. i+2 in col. ii and for the third hypothesis 40 or 41 lines, depending on the alignment of the lines in the two columns. Col. ii appears to be one line longer than col. i, but this is probably because the writing has a marked tendency to slope upwards.

Although we have little evidence for the lengths of hypotheses, that they should be roughly equal in length, rather than that one should be twice as long as the other, is more likely.

fr. 2 i

2]μέν αἰγτοῦ σα[, αὐτοῦ σα[or αὐτοῦ α[.

4 ἐκ τῆς] γῆς ἀναμῶναι a long shot. The right hand use of *ν* in *τῆν* would have to be taken as the right of *ε* tilted over, of which this hand has a few examples. ἀναμῶν used of taking up bodies for burial—perhaps those of the boys?

6 ἐραδί]. Part of ῥῥῆδιος or a fem. adj. in -ερα, not a comparative in -τερα.

7 ἐπεκαλ]. Almost certainly an imperf. or aor. of ἐπικαλέω or ἐπικαλύπτω. If it is the former verb, perhaps someone is invoking one of the three deities or is calling on an ally. For the second, cf. Plu. *Moralia* 760 D–E and the use of ἀνακαλέω.

10] . ορον: if this were χορόν, it would be a significant departure from the hypotheses' usual practice of relating only the story and making no reference to the play as such.

παράμματα: not a common prose word; used in the plu. by Demetr. Lac. *Herc.* 1012. 27. Although the individual letters are unclear, the combination is reasonably certain. 'Commotion, disturbance' caused by the deaths of the boys?

11 βο[υλή]ματι? βο[υλεύ]ματι a little long. Leto (?) 'persevering in her intention' (of killing the children?). Another, but much less likely possibility, is βο[ηθη]ματι or βο[υλή]ματι διὰ μένουσ απο[.]

12 λαβέσθαι θυμόν: presumably 'take heart', although in *Od.* 10. 461 the active is used.

13 A word with the root λυε-, E.G.T. An oblique case of λύεα or preferably a part of λυεάω, λυεών or λυεάωα, i.e. 'mad with fear'. Traces and space do not allow an imperf. or aor. indic. of this verb. The causal use (see *LSJ* s.v. III) is rare. A masc. subject (one of Niobe's sons attacked by Apollo?) seems more appropriate and -ων is more compatible with the traces than -ωα.

17 The interpretation is obscure. A verb in -ίζω is difficult because, unless the preceding *ο* can be read as *ε*, there is no room for an augment or for a compound of κατα; not a dat. part. because there is insufficient space between ζ and τ; a name or substantive in the dat.? If δδο is right, does it refer to Apollo and Artemis or to a pair of messengers?

εργον[ω]: γεγον[ω] or ελεγον [ώ]?

18 This perhaps refers to a messenger-speech in which is reported 'their [i.e. the boys'] destruction at the hands of Apollo'. Fr. 443 R may be part of such a speech.]ε: ἀγγέλλοντες, P.J.P. αὐτῶν shows that the boys were mentioned just before.

19 Obviously a fem. subject. The β makes Νιόβη almost certain; the gap for η is wide but not impossibly so. 'Niobe feeling no emotion at these happenings' and so continuing defiant as in Ovid?

19 21 might run something like: κατα[κλείεσκα αὐτήν (οἱ τὰς κόρας, cf. 25) εἰς] τὸν οἶκον ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκάλεσ[ε] | τῆν Λητώ (cf. *Ov. Met.* 6. 280–5) (or Ἀμφίωνα).

21 This line, and the following if we read *Ἄσωπόν*, have the only examples of hiatus in the text. W. S. Barrett, *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965) 61 n. 2, 62 n. 1, notes the usual avoidance of this, except before proper names, in the Euripidean hypotheses.

1. ἀνεῖδι]ε. Likely objects of Amphion's censure are Niobe, Leto, or Apollo—perhaps the last in view of Hyginus' statement, *Amphion autem cum templum Apollinis expugnare vellet, ab Apolline sagittis est interfecit* and μάχην in the next line.

22 π[ρ]όφρων: Ἄσωπόν, the river in S. Boeotia, is less likely; it would have to be the place of combat. κατα: part of e.g. καταπῆν or καταπικρό, καταπῖον? So perhaps for 21–3, ἀνιδί]ε τὸν θεὸν προκαλ]ῶν κατ[ὲ] π[ρ]όφρων εἰς μάχην καταπ]ῆναι, P.J.P.

23 A new period begins near the broken edge. Before δέ a genitive participle singular? or ὑπό? The subject of μετήλλαξεν in l. 24 must be Amphion and τοξευθεῖς seems the likeliest supplement, cf. *Apollod.* loc. cit. ἐτοξεύθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀμφίων, and Hyginus. In *Ov. Met.* 6. 271–2, however, he commits suicide and according to Lucian, *Salt.* 41, he went mad. Zethus can be eliminated because he is still alive in l. 27. Since μετήλλαξεν is here used absolutely and there is not much space in the lacuna, a construction allowing καθοπλίσαι]ντ] is hard to envisage. Perhaps ἰγὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καθοπλίσαι]μ[ε] [νο; or (J. R. Rea) καταπ]ῆναι]ντ]ος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καθοπλίσαι]μ[ε]νός ἐπῆλθε καὶ τοξ]ευθεῖς.

24–5 Apollo needs to be connected with Ἄρτε]μιδι, who must herself be the subject of ἐτόξευεν. All the sources and the fr. of the play itself point to Artemis as the destroyer of the girls. Barrett has deduced (especially pp. 184 and 194) that Apollo is at some height pointing out to Artemis the girls in the palace whom she is to shoot. ἐν[ε]κέλευε καὶ τῇ Ἄρτε]μιδι, P.J.P., ἐν[ε]χά]σθη εἰς τῇ Ἄρτε]μιδι, J.R.R.

26] .ιν: an inf. in -ειν? Have Leto, or Apollo and Artemis, or the children's deaths shown that 'superiority, authority' belongs to the gods?

27 The hypothesis is nearly at an end, since little further action in the play is possible. Zethus arrives on the scene; presumably there is an announcement or prophecy about Niobe's return to Lydia (Schol. T on *Il.* 24. 602 Σοφοκλῆς . . . νοστήσει δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς Λυδίαν) and perhaps her petrification on Mount Sipylus.

Barrett, *ibid.* 224, notes that the three principal mythographic sources 'agree with one another pretty closely, and may well be adapted from a common original (in particular, the two Greek sources have rather more verbal similarities than I should wish to ascribe to chance). That this original should have been, or should have been based on, a tragic ὑπόθεσις is an obvious possibility; and if so, presumably Sophocles not Aeschylus. But it is no more than a possibility; and it should be noted that the account in the *Iliad* scholia ends ἡ ἱερόρια παρὰ Εὐφορίωνι.' In view of the parallels now apparent between the sources and this hypothesis, the possibility becomes a probability. The use made of the Euripidean hypotheses by the mythographers has already become clear.

3654. METHODIC MEDICINE

16 2B.48/F(b)

fr. 8 6.8 × 8.5 cm

Second century

A group of fragments, written across the fibres in a decent round upright book-hand of the type of *GMAW* 17, to be assigned to the second century; dashes as space-fillers in fr. 7. 3–4 and fr. 8. 8–9; no lectional signs; paragraphing by ekthesis in fr. 2. 7, 8. 7. In ordering the fragments we have two criteria. (i) Colour. Fr. 1–5 are darker than the rest; 1 and 2 contain line-beginnings which might, from the vertical fibres, belong to the same column. 6–12 are lighter; 6 has the head of a column (upper margin 3.6 cm), 8 the foot (lower margin 4.6 cm), 7 line-ends from mid-column; there is no way of showing whether only one column is represented. (ii) Recto. Remains of documentary writing, too slight to reconstruct the text, appear on the front of fr. 6, 9, 10, and 12, and (first letter only) 2. For want of anything better, the fragments have been grouped by colour; but that is of course unreliable.

The text represents the Methodic school of medicine, whose 'Method' (fr. 8.4) attributed all disease to two principal 'common affections' or *κοινότητες* (fr. 8; cf. 6.3, 7.6), namely τὸ στεγνόν, 'constriction', and τὸ βλωδες, 'fluidity', and prescribed as appropriate treatments for these, respectively, χαλασις, 'slackening' (cf. fr. 2.10) and

fr. 1	fr. 2	fr. 3
. [. [. [
]επ[	φρι. [	]ωσ. [
τατ[	λνγ. [	]ωνγ[
τρον. [	χρογ. . [	]να. [
5 c. [	5 διανας. [	5]μα[
	θισταν. [	]ενα[
	]θεραπευ[	]εστ[
	πτικρον[	]ατα[
	τους. [	]ερατ[
	10 χαλα[	10]ντ[
	χρονιση[	]αιρω[
	αυτογπ. [	]ων[
	βαμμοντ[	]αιτ. [
	. ρ. . []ων[
	15 χρογρονχ[	fr. 4
	καμ. . η[
	ταδετα[	]εν. [
	τα[[. . ρ]]μ. [	]αλη[
	]κ[]θε. [	]ουσα[
	20]μ. [	]ρεπ[
	] . [	5]ντο[
	] . [	] . ιτ[
		] . ν[

Fr. 1

4 . [left-hand arc of circle? 5 . [perhaps the beginning of mu.

Fr. 2

1 . [left-hand tip and foot of tau? 2 . [foot of upright; point on the line 3 . [left tip of high horizontal (pi, tau) 4 . [bottom arc of circle; foot of vertical 5 . [left end of high horizontal or descending oblique 6 . [left end of high horizontal 9 . [left side of gamma or pi? 15 ρ, omicron rather than omega, to judge from the space 16 . η[left side of gamma or pi; then perhaps nu, but anomalous 18 . [oblique sloping up from left to right? 19 . [left side of gamma or

στέγνωσις, 'constricting' (cf. fr. 6. 2). Fr. 2 may concern details of therapy, but fr. 7 and 8 seem to expound the theoretical foundations of the Method. So too perhaps fr. 6.

The help of Professor M. Frede with the interpretation of the text is gratefully acknowledged.

	fr. 2
	. [
	φρι. . [
	λνγτ[
	χρογρ. [
5	διαναστ[
	θισταν[
	θεραπευ[
	πτικρον[
	τους. [
10	χαλα[
	χρονιση[
	αὐτοῦ π. [
	βαμμοντ[
	. ρ. . []ων[
15	χρογρον χ[
	καμ. . η[
	τάδε τὸ [
	τα[[. . ρ]]μ. [
	]κ[. .]θεπ[
20	] . μ[
] . [
] . [

pi? 20] . , parts of a high flattened circle (omicron)?

21 right side of eta, or of something ligatured to iota? then lambda or mu?

Fr. 3

1 junction as of oblique and right upright of nu; foot of upright 4 . [left side of gamma?

Fr. 4

1 . [upright 6] . , foot of oblique (right side of alpha etc.?)

fr. 5	fr. 7	fr. 8	
. . .]. []. ω[. . . αν[]ν[fr. 6 top]σωματος[]στεγνων[]ε[. . .]νο[]τρ[	. . . ]. . . [ . . . ] αν]καταδ[.]να-]. οτησκαθο- 5]θρωποτητα]καικωνη]νε. . . [. . .]]δε. η. . . [. . .]]αν[. . .]ω[	. . . . . . φνομω[. . .] . . . τωγκατε[. . .] η[λεγεταικο[.]νοτ[παρατημε, οδω. [. . .] 5 τηςπροσεχησκα[]α[ναγκαιακ.]ενεργης]τιεστνωκο[]νοτησηδι ατανανομοιωνκα- ταφαντα. . . ανδη- 10 . . .]υσακατα, υναμων ομοιοτηςπροσεχησ foot	
fr. 9	fr. 10	fr. 11	fr. 12
. . .]. . . ν[]μει[]συν. [. . .]]. εμνα[5]καιτ[]. οτηη[]ενηη. [. . .]]ησθα. [. . .]]. ομ[]ς. [. . .]	. . .]. φξρ[]. ρομ[]κωιν[]. . . [. . .]	. . .]. []δ[]ση[]οι[	. . . ]. [ ]νηηδ[]. μεν. [. . .]]. [. . .]

fr. 6	fr. 7	fr. 8
]σώματος[]στεγνων[]ε[. κ.]ομνο[]τρ[	. . . ]. . . [ . . . ] αν]κατὰ δ[ύ]να- μιν ὁμο]ιότης καθο 5 ἀν]θρωπότητα]καὶ κοινῆ]νε. . . [. . .] . ε.]δειη. . . [. . .]] ἀν[θ]ρω[π	. . . . . . φνομω[ν. . .] . . . [. . .] των κατε[. . .]κη[λέγεται κο[ι]νότης παρὰ τῆ Μεθόδω κ[οινό- 5 της προσεχής κα[ι] ἀ- ναγκαία καὶ ἐνεργής. τί ἐστιν κο[ι]νότης; ἢ δι- ὰ τῶν ἀνομοίων κα- τὰ φανταζίαν διή- 10 κ]ουσα κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιότης προσεχής

Fr. 5
1 lower arc of circle? 2], flattened triangular shape, lambda? mu? 3], second lambda, mu?

Fr. 6
3], upper right-hand arc of circle?

Fr. 7
2], φ, upright? 4], upright on edge 7], . . . , second, a small superscript epsilon; third, top of upright 8 ε, perhaps end of cross-bar of epsilon, joining upright (i.e. iota) 9 . . . ω, second, upper arc of oval; to the left, right-hand end of high horizontal joining it

Fr. 8
1 . φ, foot of upright, then more ink to right joining omega at the base 2], ends of branches of kappa (or chi?) 4 . φ, parts of a circle], fibres disturbed: perhaps upright and lower oblique of kappa (or nu?) 9 . . . α, first, left-hand arc of circle

Fr. 9
4], high and low points on the edge (branches of kappa or the like?) 8], perhaps beginning of descender (iota?) attached to tail of alpha 9], two high bits of ink in parallel, perhaps loop of rho or the like?

Fr. 10
1], oblique tail, as of alpha, lambda 2], perhaps branches as of kappa, but partly obscured by mud

Fr. 12
3], top of upright], possibly upper left arc of circle, but blotted

fr. 2

5 Either δι' ἀναστ[ομώσεως] (Fredc), or a form or derivative of διανέστημι.

7 Mr P. J. Parsons suggests the possibility that ll. 1-6 describe a set of symptoms, and that we now have a new heading, θεράπευ[εις], followed by instructions for their treatment.

fr. 7

This may reflect an attested Methodic defence of the approach through *κοινότητες*, against the objection that the doctor only cures individual patients (Galen, *De opt. secta* i 189, 14 ff. Kühn; cf. *De methodo medendi* x 206, 11 ff. Kühn): the death of an individual man requires the loss of his ἀθροισότης, which is likewise a *κοινότης*.

2-4 Perhaps κατά φασ[τρ]α[ς] | [δύκουσα] κατά δ[ύ]να[μιν] ὁμο[λόγη], as at fr. 8. 8-11. If so, fr. 7 might belong after fr. 8, which gives the impression of introducing this phrase for the first time.

fr. 8

'By "common affection" in the Method is meant a common affection which is relevant, necessary, and actual. What is a common affection? That relevant similarity which potentially runs in appearance through dissimilar things.'

It appears that ll. 7-11 contain a general definition of *κοινότης*, while the preceding lines explain the more restricted use of the term in the Methodic system. What we have here accords well with the Methodic Thessalus' definition of medicine as γνώσις φαινόμενων κοινότητων προσεχῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίων πρὸς ὑγίειαν (Galen, *Sect. intr.* 14. 7 Helmreich). Thessalus thus restricts the Methodic *κοινότητες* to those which are (a) 'apparent' and (b) 'relevant and necessary in relation to health'. Our text supplies an elliptical form of (b) in ll. 5-6. One might then expect the third term added there, ἐνεργής, to correspond to Thessalus' (a) 'apparent'. This would be easily achieved by Fredc's suggestion of emending to ἐναργής. However, another possibility is offered by ll. 7-11, where the general definition of *κοινότης* requires only that it be *potentially* apparent. Hence ἐνεργής in the special Methodic usage of the term may be meant to add the restriction 'actually apparent'.4 ἡ Μέθοδος was the formal name for the school's system when Celsus wrote about it (*Prooem.* 57) c. AD 30.7 For the question-and-answer form, common in medical exposition, see e.g. Ps.-Soranus, *Quaestiones medicinales*; P. Turner 14. It is possible, but unprovable, that the entire text was cast in this form.

9-10 On δῆκεν as a Methodic term, cf. SE, PH 1. 240.

3655. PHILOSOPHICAL ANECDOTE

16 2B.50/D(b)

8 × 12 cm

Second/third century

The top of a column, with a preserved upper margin of 3.5 cm; the back is blank. The hand is an upright Severe Style of common type (exemplified e.g. in XLVII 3321). The papyrus is crumpled and warped, so that estimates of the sizes of the larger lacunae may be subject to error. No lectional signs except double point (since the left edge is lost, except in l. 1, it is impossible to say whether there were also paragraphi); it is difficult to be sure whether these always or only sometimes marked change of speaker.

We have here a fragment of narrative, reporting dialogue. In the background are the pupils of Stilpo, who was head of the Megarian School in the late fourth and early third centuries BC, and among them in particular Alcimus the rhetor. The chief parties to the dialogue itself are apparently Stilpo and another man, named in 7 and conjecturally identifiable as Metrocles the Cynic. The exchanges are unusually protracted for the anecdotal tradition. Among the fragments of Stilpo the only conversation of comparable length is fr. 154 Döring (*Die Megariker*, Amsterdam 1972), also featuring Metrocles. A plausible explanation is that the source in both cases was

Stilpo's dialogue *Metrocles* (DL 2. 120). Another possibility, however, is that the fragment derives directly or indirectly from Metrocles' own anecdotal work *Χρείαι* (if directly, Metrocles would have to be represented in the first person singular, e.g. at 4-5). Fr. 154 opens with a criticism from Metrocles, followed by an elenctic dialogue in which Stilpo turns the tables on him. The present anecdote may have followed the same pattern, at least if Stilpo was its ultimate source, but in the preserved portion it is apparently Metrocles who is asking the questions. Metrocles accuses Stilpo's circle of overrating Alcimus, a mere boy, and perhaps tries to show by cross-questioning Alcimus that he cannot yet define good and evil.

	του. υπολειπ[] , ερουστωντ. [	τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν τρ[ὸ]
	] , λπωνομαθητωνενοικ[	στ]ίλωνος μαθητῶν, ἐν οἷς κ[αὶ]
	] τωραλκιμοσηνηδηπαρ. [	ὁ ῥή]τωρ Ἀλκιμος ἦν ἤδη παρὰ [στ]ίλ-
	] . ιδιατριβων:του[ . . . ] . [	πω]μι διατριβων. "του[των]ε[] [τί]" ἔ-
5	] φαναισθητοιου[	φη] "ἔ] ἀναίσθητοι τὸν [παῖδα τι-
	] τωουοντατω:κα[	μά]τε ὡς ὄντα τινά;" κα[ὶ] ὁ στ]ίλ-
	] . εμοιεφηωμ. . . [	πω]ν "ἔ] μοί" ἔφη "ὦ Μητρώ[] κλειε ἀρ-
	] παιδευειν. ψθρω. [	κει] παιδεύειν ἀνθρωπ[ων]." ὁ δέ: "τί
	] ληπ[]] τερα[. .] , δαξε[	βού]λη; π[ό]τερα [πα]ῖδας ἐ[] γγρά-
10	] ειστο. ςμαθηταση[	ψαι] εἰς τοὺς μαθητάς, ἢ [ἀνδρας;"
	] ιδαεχωχεψη:α. ν[	"πα]ῖδα ἔχωχε" ἔφη. "ἀρ' οἶ] ν οἶδε τὰ
	] . θακαριτακαη[.] . :φ. [	ἀγ]αθὰ καὶ τὰ κα<κά>, ἢ [ο]ψ; φ]ή[σαντος δέ
	] . ρυ. ρ. [. .] . ιωνκακονες[	αὐ]τοῦ "πάρ]υ" "τί οὖν κακόν ἐς[τι, νεα-
	] . δια. . [.] . καιραλκιμο. . [	ν]τα, διαί]β[ει]." καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιμος
15	] τ. [. . .] καιτομοιχ[	. . . ] τ. [. . .] καὶ τὸ μοιχ[εὔειν
	] . . [ . . . ] διδακκειστο[	. . . [ . . . ] διδάσκεις το[
	] ει[	] ει[

1 v., high trace], foot of upright to right of damaged area τωμ, nu represented only by a trace of the top left junction and of the second upright . [short vertical trace on the edge at three-quarter height 2], upright on the edge 3], point (top of upright?) above the general level of the letter-tops 4], nu or omega], two high points, perhaps diaeresis 7], perhaps foot of diagonal and right vertical of nu 8], stroke sloping down from left to right; then nu (represented by the right-hand upright and junction) seems to follow directly, if the pieces are correctly aligned], foot of upright 9], foot of upright? 10 o., foot of upright 11 α., perhaps two letters, the second (upper right arc of small circle) omicron 12], the foot of an oblique descending from left to right], right-hand tip of upsilon? 13], foot of upright v., feet of two uprights], foot of upright below the general level, then point at two-thirds height 14], right-hand junction of alpha or delta ρ., very short horizontal at line-level 15], top of upright?

'(He visited) the remaining pupils of Stilpo, among whom was also the rhetor Alcimus, already attending Stilpo's school.

"You fools", he said, "why do you respect this child as being really someone?"

"For me", replied Stilpo, "it is enough that I should have a human being to educate."

"What do you want? To enrol children into your school, or men?"

"In my case, a child", he said.

"Does he then know what goods and evils are, or not?"

"Certainly", said he.

"Then define what evil is, boy."

("..." replied) Alcimus, "and adultery."

"... you teach..."

The first twelve letters of l. 1 are on an almost detached fragment which certainly belongs to this line but whose precise placing in relation to the rest is uncertain. The placing assumed in the transcript suits the fibre pattern of the back, but is otherwise motivated by linguistic considerations. This determines the left margin; the line-length can only be inferred from the plausible supplements at the ends of 1-2.

1 ἰπολιπομένου could be taken to imply that Stilpo had died, but it is enough to assume that some had left the school or (as Professor M. Ostwald points out to me) the scene of the conversation.

2-3 See DL 2. 113-14, 118 for Stilpo's pupils, including Alcimus, 'the most distinguished of all rhetors in Greece'. Nothing else is known of this Alcimus, unless he was the same as the Sicilian historian, *FGrH* 560. κ[α] suits the space at the end of 2 (as inferred from the supplement in 1); it may mean 'in particular' or 'also', the latter either implying that the subject was another pupil or simply reflecting the fact that he was another of those present.

3 ἦδη: perhaps, as the ensuing conversation suggests, because of Alcimus' extreme youth.

3-4 παρ' α[ὐ]τ[ῶ]ν would be tempting, but tau seems too short for the initial gap in 4. (civ) διατρέβειν is standard terminology for attending a school.

4 The diaeresis (if correctly read for the last trace) is commonly used to emphasize an initial, and occasionally a final, vowel: cf. *GMAW* ed. 1 p. 12. Mr P. J. Parsons has suggested e.g. τοῦ[των] τ[ὶ]δῶν (outside the direct speech).

5-6 [παιδα] was suggested by Mr P. J. Parsons. Stilpo's circle is accused either of overrating or of underrating Alcimus (if the latter, add a negative). The former seems to make the ensuing dialogue more intelligible. Blustering accusations against Stilpo were apparently a stock-in-trade of Metrocles' (cf. Stilpo, fr. 154, 190 Döring), who also had views about the proper time-scale for education (DL 6. 95).

7 The traces at the line-end are badly damaged. After mu, there is apparently an upright on the left edge of a hole; after the hole, parts of two more uprights; then a high angular trace which strongly suggests the lower left arc of omicron. μῆτρο suits trace and space. If that is right, among the recorded acquaintances of Stilpo we have to choose between Metrodorus ὁ θεωρηματικός, of whom we know only that he was a disciple of Stilpo (DL 2. 113), and Metrocles the Cynic, a regular adversary of his, who therefore fits the anecdote much better.

7-8 Stilpo implies that any human being can be taught. Cf. Cicero, *De fato* 10 (Stilpo, fr. 158 Döring): Stilpo was himself regarded as a prime example of a natural voluptuary made virtuous by education.

8 There is room for ἀφθρόπ[ου], but the singular has the advantage of making the singular in 11 less surprising. The change of speaker in this line, and hence all subsequent assignments to speakers, are conjectural. There is room for a double point to have marked the change.

8-10 ὁ δέ "τι βούλησ[ι]" was suggested by Mr P. J. Parsons, and ἐ[γγρά]ψαι by Professor C. Habicht.

11 οἷε: alternatively a word for 'he has learnt' or 'you teach', but not much extra space is available. The question could be either about Alcimus' knowledge when he enrolled, or about what he has learnt since. If Stilpo's answer in 13 is affirmative, one could expect the latter.

13 There is room for the double point after πάλ[υ], and possibly for a further one or two letters (e.g. γε[?]).

The supplement at the end may be slightly long for the space.

14 There is probably room for the double point before καί. Alcimus replies with a list of evils. In 16 Metrocles probably resumes, with a criticism of Stilpo's teaching. Has Alcimus committed the standard error, condemned by Socrates in many Platonic dialogues, of answering the request for a definition by listing mere examples? If so, he may have reflected doctrinal policy in Stilpo's school, for Stilpo denied the existence of universals (DL 2. 119 = fr. 199 Döring). We might then expect Stilpo to take up the initiative by arguing for this thesis, as he is said to have done (*ibid.*) in eristic debate.

3656. PHILOSOPHICAL BIOGRAPHY

75/5(b)

13.5 × 14.5 cm

Second/third century

The top of a column, with traces of those before and after; upper margin 3 cm, intercolumnium c. 2 cm; back blank. The script is a fine large sloping Severe Style, assignable to the late second century or the first half of the third. Punctuation by paragraphus and space. The scribe seems to have corrected his own mistake at ii 7. A second hand, using lighter ink and a finer pen, marked up the text with chi and diple. These marks are often used indistinguishably for *nota bene* (XLVII, p. 38 f.); but here, if the small sample proves anything, chi attached only to proper names.

What survives is a morsel of the higher gossip, liberally garnished with secondary sources, from an *ἀναγραφὴ φιλοσόφων* or the like. It concerns a girl (the name now lost) who studied philosophy, first (it seems) with Plato, then with Speusippus and with Menedemus of Eretria. It provides a new fragment of Hippobotus (ii 4), a novel title of Hieronymus (10), and an otherwise unattested Peripatetic (12).

I am indebted for advice and correction to Mr Jonathan Barnes.

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	] .	διηκουεδεμε	
	] ]	× τατηνπλατωνος	
	] α	τελευτηνκαισπευ	
	] .	× σιππουκαθαλεγει	
5	] ης	οιπποβοτοςαυθιςδε	
	] ]	× καμινεδημουτου	
	] ]	φ ηγησατο	
	] ]	ερετρικου αυ[[θις]]δε	
	] ]	περιαυτησκαιιερω	
	] . [ ]	× νυμοσοροδιοσεν	
10	] ]	τωπεριανοχης	φ ηναμ[
	] ]	συνγραμματα ιστο	> . [
	] ]	× ρειδαριστοφανης	. [
	] . [ ]	οπεριπατητικος	. [
	] ]	ομοιωσεντωπερι	> . [
15	] . α	αλυπιαστημιρα	[
	] ]	> καωραιανχαριτων	. [
	] α	τεανεπιτηδευτων	> [
	] .	πληρηουσαν νεα	[
	. .	. . [ . ] . [ . ] . εριαντην	> [
20	. .	] . οσκαι	[

col. ii. 7 *av*: the scribe changed the v-shaped top of upsilon to a diamond-shape, by adding an inverted v; then wrote a new upright through the diamond to make phi 19], [: top of upright], [: short horizontal or arc just below the letter-tops], [: speck just below the letter-tops 20] .: long high horizontal (gamma or tau)

col. iii. 14 . [: gamma or pi

	col. ii
	διήκουσε δὲ με-
	τὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος
	τελευτὴν καὶ Σπευ-
	σίππου καθὰ λέγει
5	ὁ Ἴππόβοτος, αὐθις δὲ
	καὶ Μενεδήμου τοῦ
	Ἐρετρικοῦ. ἀ[[υθις]]φηγήσατο δὲ
	περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ Ἰερῶ-
	νυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν
10	τῷ περὶ συνοχῆς
	συνγράμματι. ἰστο-
	ρεῖ δ' Ἀριστοφάνης
	ὁ περιπατητικὸς
	ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ περὶ
15	ἀλυπίας τὴν μίρα-
	κα ὠραίαν χαρίτων
	τε ἀνεπιτηδεύτων
	πλήρη οὖσαν νεα
	] περὶ αὐτὴν

col. ii. . . and after Plato's death she was a pupil also of Speusippus, as Hippobotus says, and then also of Menedemus of Eretria. Hieronymus of Rhodes too gave an account of her in his treatise *On Coherence* (?). Similarly Aristophanes the Peripatetic relates in his book *On Freedom from Pain* that the girl was in her prime and full of artless charm . . .

1 *δῆμους*: she studied with someone before Plato's death: most likely (though the surviving text does not prove it) with Plato himself. The tradition recorded only two women pupils of his: Axiothea and Lastheneia (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4. 122. 2, p. 302 St.; DL 3. 46); Axiothea at least had already appeared in Dicaearchus (DL 3. 46 = fr. 44 Wehrli). Both girls were said to have become pupils of Speusippus (DL 4. 2), and Lastheneia his mistress (Athen. 7. 279 E, 12. 546 D). Menedemus (6) does not figure in the story elsewhere.

5 *ὁ Πηρόβοτος*: Hippobotus is cited first by Clement (*Strom.* 1. 62. 2, p. 39. 18 St.), then fifteen times by Diogenes Laertius (1. 19, 2. 88 *ἐν τῷ περὶ αἰρέσεων*, 1. 42 *ἐν τῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀναγραφῇ*; otherwise without title). He treated philosophers as far back as the Seven Sages and Pythagoras, and as late as Crates, Menedemus, and Zeno (from which it is inferred that he wrote in the third century BC; but see J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (1978) 176 ff.); his work included lists of pupils, DL 7. 38 (Zeno), 9. 115 (Timon), and at least one anecdote of Menedemus (DL 6. 102: he went about dressed as a Fury), but no other reference to Plato or Speusippus survives.

10 *περὶ συνοχῆς*: Hieronymus (*Die Schule des Aristoteles* x) wrote a book *περὶ ἐνοχῆς*, according to Diogenes Laertius (2. 105 = fr. 24), in which he attacked Phaedo of Elis as a slave. One title may be false; or there may have been two different works. *συνοχῆ* does occur in philosophical contexts: of the inhibition of motion in sleep, Aristotle, *Plant.* 816^b 39; of the cohesion of the universe, Chrysippus fr. 550 (*SVF* ii 173) (cf. Plutarch, *mor.* 1055 B), 'Aetius' 2. 4. 2; of continuity in place or shape, Apollod. Sel. fr. 7 (*SVF* iii 260); of the maintenance of happiness, Epicurus fr. 361 U. But how did the lady come to be mentioned in a treatise on physics? The meaning 'affliction' (or 'imprisonment') seems not to be attested before the first century BC.

12-15 *Ἀριστοφάνης . . . περὶ ἀλυπίας*: I have not found this Peripatetic elsewhere; for his subject cf. *Die Schule des Aristoteles* x 30 f. On the view that 'Peripatetic' comes to mean no more than 'scholar' (Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* i 150 f.; S. R. West, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 280 f. has doubts), Aristophanes of Byzantium might qualify; but *περὶ ἀλυπίας* seems an unlikely (and in fact unattested) title for him.

3657. PHILOSOPHICAL PROSE

16 2B.47/G(i)

8.5 × 8 cm

Second century

Part of one column (full width in 14-15, to judge from the sense), and line-ends of another; the blank space below ii 16 is not quite wide enough to prove that this was the lower margin. The back is blank. The hand is a round, upright, bilinear script comparable e.g. with 2161 (*GMAW* 24) and assignable to the second century. No lectional signs, except diaeresis, and punctuation in the form of a short, gently rising oblique (ii 16); possibly also a high point or space-filler at the end of ii 14.

Despite the relatively early date, a term like *προχῆλωσις* (*vel sim.*, ii 5), frequently 'crucifixion', may put one in mind of a Christian text; and the other main terminology is likewise abundantly represented in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (I am grateful to Mr D. McCabe for this observation). But there is too little to go on, and I hazard no conjecture as to the precise topic down to ii 11. At that point the author turns to a new subject, the Stoic schematization of the topic of *βίαι*.

col. i

col. ii

]κονεῖναιτ. [
]οπεριστατικ[
], ονοσελεχθη[
]τονεστιτοπρ. [
 5] , ονπροσηλως[
]ειπερισπωμεν[
]ων, ειωνδια[
]αταρετην[
]νοσεαν[
 10]. [. . .], [. . .], ηταιτο. [
], νομ. [], σαπειια[
]μεντουτωνικανακ[
].] , μμετρωδεκααιοπερ[
]ε βιωτοποσκεχακτηρισται, [
 15], η κατατοβουληματηςστωικης[
], ματαξεωσουκαγνοητεονδο

col. i. 1], short upright, with horizontal joining from left (eta, pi? epsilon iota, tau iota?) 3], right hand tip of high horizontal

col. ii. 1], upright, joining high horizontal to right (gamma, pi; eta?) 3], right-hand end of horizontal at line-level? 4], lower part of upright on the edge 5], lower part of upright 7], ε, upper and lower arcs of circular letter 10], η, foot of upright], top of upright, with high horizontal crossing and projecting slightly to the left (gamma, pi?) 11], right side of omicron or omega], upper right-hand arc of circle 13], lower part of upright, swinging rightwards towards the foot 14], high trace, close to preceding letter, compatible with high point, space-filler, upsilon, or chi 16], top of alpha, delta, or lambda

col. ii

]κον εῖναι τη[
]ο περιστατικ[
], ονοσελέχθη[
]τον ἐστι το πρ. [
 5] , ον προσηλως[
]ει περιπωμεν[
]ων θείων δια[
 κ]ατ' ἀρετήν [
]νοσεαν [
 10]. [. . .], [. . .], ηταιτο. [
]ρομι[κ]ός ἀπειν' ἀ[λ-
 λὰ περι] μέν τούτων ἰκανὰ κ[εί-
 cθω. c]νμμέτρως δὲ καὶ ὁ περ[ι
 βίων τόπος κεχακτηρισται
 15 κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς στωικῆς
 διατάξεως. οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δ' ὁ-
 [τι

col. ii. If, as seems plausible on linguistic grounds, 14-15 preserve complete lines, all of lines 1-17 end at or very near the true line-ends.

5 A form of *προσῆλοισι* or *προσῆλοῦν*. Both are used regularly for crucifixion in Christian texts, but also commonly in metaphorical senses.

8, 11 Mr P. J. Parsons suggests that, if *βίαι* are already under discussion (cf. 13-14), we may conceivably have mentions here of those characterizable as, respectively, *κατ' ἀρετῆν* and *οὐκ ἠνομιμα[κ]δός*.

11 If α[] begins a new sentence the absence of nu ephelestikon on ἀπεισι becomes less surprising. There is no punctuation here to mark the transition between topics, but there may have been before *εἰρημύετρος* in 13.

11-16 'But let these be enough suggestions regarding this subject. The topic of lives also is presented in proportionate style according to the intention of the Stoic schematization.' (I take the trace at the end of 14 to be a space-filler, not punctuation, which would seem inappropriate at this point.)

In Stoicism a *τόπος* is a division of philosophical discourse (DL 7. 39, 44), and the description *περὶ βίαν* covers, roughly, applied ethics: it tends to consist in detailed prescriptions for the wise man's virtuous conduct. For the remnants of Chrysippus' work *Περὶ βίαν*, see *SVP* iii 691, 693, 697, 716 (Bk. 1); 685 (Bk. 2); 702, 703, ii. 42, 270 (Bk. 4); but it looks rather as if this work was 'On livelihoods'. The meaning of the expression in our context is better exemplified by the Academic Philo of Larissa, who made *ὁ περὶ βίαν λόγος* (or *τόπος*) one of his five or six cardinal divisions of ethics (ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 2. 41. 1-16; for *τόπος* see *ibid.* 40. 21, 41. 17; cf. also Epicurus, *Ep. Pyth.* 86), and subdivided it into a private section, precepts for individual conduct, and a public section, political philosophy. Its proportionateness (13) may be some kind of internal balance in the Stoics' arrangement of its parts, their *διάταξις* (always a serious concern for them, cf. DL 7. 39-41, 84). The same could be implicit in *κεχαρακτηρισται* (14): in Epictetus' usage, a *χαρακτήρ* is a style of philosophical presentation (*Diss.* 3. 23. 33 ff.; see E. G. Schmidt, 'Die drei Arten des Philosophierens', *Philologus* 106 (1962), 14-28). Whether our author has in mind something like Philo's simple bipartition (which may well have been Stoic-influenced), or some more complex structure, is a matter for speculation.

3658. PHILOSOPHICAL TREATISE

16 2B.47/B(a)

16 × 17 cm

Third century

The lower part of three columns, with intercolumnium of c. 1.5 cm and surviving lower margin of 5 cm; the back has been reused for an account of payments in drachmas. The script is a loose sloping Severe Style, similar (for example) to XXVII 2458 (Turner, *GMAW* 32) and ascribable to the third century. The copyist writes iota adscript in ii 11; he sometimes omits elided vowels (i 13, ii 13), sometimes uses *scriptio plena*. Punctuation by paragraphus, and also by high oblique strokes (once a double stroke, ii 13), normally above the letters but in ii 13 projecting down into a short blank between them; to judge from the pen and the ink, these might be the work of the original scribe. Space-filler in ii 13.

The text is notably rich in technical terms, of two sorts: (i) the categories (i 8, ii 17) *καθ' αὐτήν* (ii 13) and *πρός τι* (ii 17); (ii) simple physical objects (*ὄγκοι* i 3², ii 14) and compound ones (*ἀθροίσματα* ii 15), with *ἐκκρισις* (i 13, iii 6) and *μειξίς* (iii 8), which might describe the manner of their formation. These terms are used in an argument (col. ii) which starts from the thesis that feeling (*πάθος*) is the sole point of reference for everything. It is argued in the notes that this is a Sceptic viewpoint, which is here answered by an Epicurean writer with the argument that even if the thesis were true it would be necessary to distinguish conceptually from the feeling itself (a) the *per se* nature grasped by it, and (b) any purely 'relative', or accidental, property grasped by it. I have no precise identification of the Epicurean, but his non-avoidance of hiatus would be most typical of an early member of the school, and the philosophical content is particularly reminiscent of the third-century-BC Epicurean Polystratus.

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	. [
	]αι. [
	]... [.]... [.] [	π. . [. . .] . [
	] . ι . ι . [] φα . [	οτιμ . [. . .] . [. . .] . .	
5	] . ικνμ . [. . .] .	ταστ . [] επινοησειειστα	. ο . [
	] αθροισματ []	παθη [.] γα . [.] . μεγκαιτο	τεκκρη . [
	] . βαλομε [. .] . ν	δεειοτιμαλισταπαντο	αλλολω [
	] . κατηγορια .	ονειστοπαθοςαναγοιτοι	μειξιν [
	] ζευχθησε . αι	ναιτινααυτητητηνφυ	θησε . [
10	] . ελαττον . σ	σιντωνπραγματωντην	τ . [
	] λουθενος	ενοτητιτωπαθειλαμ	πρ [
	] ομενου ' . [] . οσ	βανομενηνκαιαυτην	ει . [
	] κατεκκρ . [] εις	γειναικαθατην' ετιδε >	θα [
	] ροισματ . [] . η	τομημ [.] νονεφεκαστουου	ει . [
15	] . [ . . . ] .	κουηαθροισματαστοιουτου	εστ . [
		τινοσυ [.] αρχοντ . . φαντα	προστ [
		σμα [. . .] . ηντου . ροστικα	φασκο [
		τη . [. . .] δεχεταιενενο	

col. i. 2 . [, foot of long descender (rho, upsilon?) 3 . . [, third, foot of upright or oblique . . [, lower part of oval, perhaps a hair-line of ink at one-third height joining it from the left; foot of upright?; junction of upright and descending oblique, probably kappa 4] . , end of horizontal (gamma, tau)? 5 . , parts of triangular letter (alpha, delta, lambda)? 6 . [, triangular letter . [, point on the edge, perhaps just part of the back of alpha 7] . , gamma or tau . [, gamma or pi . [, cross-bar and right upright of eta? or horizontal (gamma, epsilon?, tau) joining iota? 8] . , perhaps parts of the right arc of a circle 9 . [, end of high horizontal, joining upright to right (eta? something + iota?) 10 . , trace is probably the end of the tail of alpha, although the warping of the papyrus makes it hard to be sure 11 . , a, foot of upright; remains of high horizontal further to right 12 . [, cross-bar and right vertical of eta? (Vertical looks too short for iota) 13 . [, gamma or pi 14 . [, foot of upright

col. ii. 3 . [, foot of upright or oblique 4 . [, foot of upright or oblique a little below the line 5 . [, gamma or pi . [, point at line level, perhaps the left foot of the mu 6 . [, perhaps the left side of a circle or oval; then perhaps parts of the top hook of sigma 7] . , trace on the edge, perhaps right end of high horizontal 8 . ρ, short upright 9 . [, foot of upright

col. iii. 5 . ο, high horizontal joining omicron from the left . [, foot of long descender (rho, upsilon, phi?) 6 . [, upright on the edge 7 . [, lower left arc of circle 8 . [, lambda rather than part of nu? 9 . [, lower part of upright on the edge 10 . [, foot of upright?

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	. [.		
	] αιρ [.		
	] . . . [ . . . ] ὄγκ [.	π . . [.] . [.	
	] . ι . ι . φα . [. . .	ὄτι μάλι [στα] . [. . . τ] αὐ-	
5	] τι κυμπ [. .] η	τας τὰ [ε] ἐπινοήσεις εἰς τὰ	το . [
	] ἀθροίσματ [ι]	πάθη [ἀ] νάχ [ο] ἡμεν· καὶ τό-	τ' ἐκκρίε [εις
	] ὀββαλομε [ν] . ν	δε, εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶν τὸ	ἀλλ' ὄλω [σ
	] η κατηγορία .	ὄν εἰς τὸ πάθος ἀνάγοιτο, εἰ-	μειξιν [
	κυ] ζευχθήσεται	ναί τινα αὐτὴν τὴν φύ-	θησε . [
10	] η ἐλάττων . σ	σιν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν	τ . [
	ἄλ] λο οὐθενός	ἐν ἐνότητι τῶν πάθει λαμ-	πρ [
	] ομένου· π [ρ] ος	βανομένην· καὶ ταύτην	ειλ [
	] κατ' ἐκκρίε [σ] εις	γ' εἶναι καθ' αὐτήν. ἔτι δὲ	θα [
	ἀθ] ροίσματος η	τὸ μὴ μ [ε] νον ἐφ' ἐκάστου ὄγ-	ει . [
15	] . [ . . . . . . . . . .	κου ἢ ἀθροίσματος, τοιοῦτου	ἔστι [
		τινὸς ὑ [π] ἀρχοντος φαντά-	προστ [
		σμα [τοσ] , τὴν τοῦ πρός τι κα-	φασκο [
		τηγ [ορίαν] δέχεται ἐν ἐνο-	

col. i. The complete or certainly reconstructed lines of col. ii have 17 to 23 letters.
 3 For the possible $\delta\zeta\kappa$, cf. ii 14–15.
 5 Possibilities include $\kappa\upsilon\mu\eta$ [$\alpha\theta$]ῆ (or some form of $\kappa\upsilon\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$), and $\kappa\upsilon\mu\eta$ [λ]ῆ[$\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ (or some form of $\kappa\upsilon\mu\eta\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$), both regular Epicurean terms: but $\kappa\upsilon\mu\eta$ [$\alpha\nu$]ῆ is too long.
 6 The space at the end is so narrow that no other supplement seems possible.
 10 The trace before sigma is very uncertain, but marginally favours $-\zeta\epsilon$ against $-\sigma\zeta$.
 13 Cf. iii 6. $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is the one technical-looking term with no attested Epicurean usage. It is a common enough Presocratic term for physical separation, and the proximity of words for 'aggregate' (i 14) and 'mixture' (iii 8) favours the same sense here. Indeed, its formal opposite $\chi\eta\mu\iota\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is a standard Epicurean synonym for $\delta\theta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\mu\alpha$. Perhaps the full context was one which concerned the metaphysical status of the properties of atomic compounds and the conditions under which they can be acquired and lost.
 col. ii. '(... if) we were so far as possible to refer (...) these conceptions to our feelings. And this too—that if all that exists were so far as possible to be referred to feeling, the actual nature of things which is grasped in unity with the feeling is something; and that this, at least, exists *per se*. And again, the non-enduring property of each mass or aggregate, for the time that an impression of a certain type exists, admits of the category of relation in unity (with the impression).'

Col. ii seems to be responding to a Sceptical thesis which denies the existence, or at any rate the knowability, of an objective reality, on the ground that our own $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ are the only criteria to which we can refer it. The reply is in two parts. First (6–13), even if we make our $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ the touchstone by which the existence of things is judged, we have to distinguish between the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ which does the grasping and the intrinsic nature of things which is grasped by it; and the latter we must conceive of as a *per se* entity. Second (13–18), even an accidental property of an object must be placed in the category of relation... (how the argument proceeded from here is a matter for speculation—see below).

The use of the simple categorial dichotomy of *per se* and relative, rather than the more complex Aristotelian scheme, is normal in the Hellenistic period. It was used by the Platonist Xenocrates in the late fourth century, and apparently still by such early commentators on Aristotle's *Categories* as Andronicus and Eudorus in the first century BC, only thereafter giving way to the Aristotelian scheme. But the most strikingly similar deployment of the twofold scheme is by Polystratus, the third Epicurean scholar, whose *On irrational contempt* contains the only instance other than the present text in which the Aristotelian 'category' terminology is applied to it (compare i 8 and ii 17–18 with Polystratus op. cit. xxv 17–18 In delli = xvi b 2–3 Wilke, τ]ὰ πρὸς [ε τ]ι καταρη[ορού]μενα). There too it is brought to bear against a Sceptical thesis. This suggests an Epicurean author for our text: for confirmation, see notes below.

The type of Sceptical thesis combated here is one attributed to both Pyrrhonist and Academic Sceptics by Gellius (*NA* 11. 5. 6–7): *Sed ex omnibus rebus proinde visa dicunt fieri, quas phantasiae appellant, non ut rerum ipsarum natura est, sed ut adfectio animi corporisve est eorum, ad quos ea visa perveniunt. Itaque omnes omnino res, quae sensus hominum movent, τὼν πρὸς τι esse dicunt. Id verbum significat nihil esse quicquam quod ex sese constet nec quod habeat vim propriam et naturam, sed omnia prorsum ad aliquid referri taliaque videri qualis sit eorum species, dum videntur, qualiaque apud sensus nostros quo pervenerunt creantur, non apud sese unde profecta sunt.* Note the following correspondences:

	col. ii	Gellius
6, 8	$\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\sigma$	<i>adfectio animi corporisve</i>
8	$\delta\acute{\nu}\alpha\gamma\omega\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$	<i>ad aliquid referri</i>
9–10	$\alpha\delta\eta\eta\eta$ τῆν φύσιν τῶν πραγμάτων	<i>rerum ipsarum natura</i>
15–16	τοιούτου τινὸς ὁ[π]άρχοντος φαντάσμα[τος]	<i>qualis sit eorum species, dum videntur</i>
17	πρὸς τι	<i>πρὸς τι</i>

It is hard to doubt that our author is responding to the Sceptical argument summarized by Gellius, and that, like Polystratus, he is trying to turn the two-category doctrine to his own advantage.

3–6 We seem to have here the tail end of a separate argument against Scepticism (hence *καὶ τὸδε* in 6–7). Referring our conceptions to our $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ would be a very different matter from referring the external world to them, as in 6 ff., and may even reflect a Sceptic attack on rationality itself (cf. Democritus 68 B 7, 9²). $\epsilon\pi\omega$ -words are frequent in Epicurean texts, with the basic sense 'conceive' (most commonly in allegations about what *cannot* be conceived).

6–13 Despite the infinitival construction, this should be taken to convey the author's view, since it is apparently co-ordinate with the sentence introduced by $\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ at 13, which uses the indicative.

The author argues that any proper account of the way in which an external object is referred to our feelings must distinguish the *per se* nature of the object from the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ in unity with which that nature is grasped. The phrase 'in unity' is puzzling, but the nearest I have been able to come to an elucidation of it is once again via an Epicurean parallel. Epicurus (*Ep. Hdt.* 52) speaks of the stream of sound particles as preserving a peculiar unity ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\tau\eta$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\rho\sigma\pi\omega\nu$) which extends from the ear to the source of the sound and usually brings about our recognition of that source. Telescoped though this account is, it makes it clear that Epicurus was interested in describing the 'unity' or perhaps 'continuity', which gives our sense-perceptions a direct line to external objects and hence more than the purely subjective character which the Sceptic claims for them. For Epicurus, then, 'unity' expresses the direct and intimate interrelationship of the sensation and the external object sensed. And very much the same meaning seems to be intended here.

$\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\tau\eta$ (cf. ii 18) is I think most naturally construed with the ensuing dative. I cannot parallel the construction, but $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ('one and the same as') and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\delta\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$ ('to be united with') are properly construed with a dative. A possible alternative is to take the second dative as instrumental, understanding 'grasped by the feeling in unity (sc. with the feeling)'

8 $\delta\acute{\nu}\alpha\gamma\omega\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$ (cf. 6): a standard Epicurean term for referring an object of dispute to a criterion. For the expression in ii 8, cf. Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt.* 68, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ (sc. theories about the soul) ... $\delta\acute{\nu}\alpha\gamma\omega\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ But cf. also *referrri* in Gellius 11. 5. 7, quoted above, which may suggest that the word is supplied by the Sceptic opponent.

13–18 The author now turns to the sort of sensible property on which the Sceptic typically rests his case, an observer-dependent property like colour or taste, which can be characterized as relative to our sense-impressions and therefore an unstable and non-essential attribute. This, his reply begins, admits of the category of $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota$ in unity with [. . . How should we complete the argument? Probably as exactly parallel to the first. My guess would be that our author has, like Polystratus, already established that the category of relation is, while different from that of *per se*, no less real for that, and that he is now exploiting this finding: not only does a sensation of an external object imply the actual existence of its *per se* nature grasped 'in unity with' the sensation, but a sensation of an accidental, observer-dependent property implies the actual existence of that relative property, 'in unity with' the sensation. Hence I would complete $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\omicron}$ [$\tau\eta\tau\eta$ $\tau\omega\iota$ $\phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (*οἱ τῶν πᾶθῶν* again)]. But other reconstructions may be possible.

The expression $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\mu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\eta\kappa\omega\upsilon$ η $\delta\theta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\iota\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\upsilon}$ [π] $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$ [$\tau\omicron\varsigma$] (14–16) is reminiscent of the Epicurean notion of a $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\omega\tau\omicron\mu\alpha$, accidental property. Cf. Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt.* 70–1: each of a body's $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\omega\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ is impermanent ($\omicron\delta\kappa$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$), and is spoken of as belonging to it just whenever it is seen to occur in it. The preceding section (*ibid.* 69) also clarifies the relationship of $\delta\eta\kappa\omega\varsigma$ and $\delta\theta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\mu\alpha$ at ii 14–15. An $\delta\theta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\mu\alpha$ is a complex aggregate (elsewhere typically applied to the human organism), an $\acute{\delta}\eta\kappa\omega\varsigma$ a relatively simple body, which can serve among its components, but not necessarily irreducibly simple like an atom.

17 The supplement was suggested by Professor M. Frede, and clearly has the support of the Gellius passage quoted above. $\phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$ [$\kappa\alpha\iota$], however, is another possibility. On either reading, the term is being used as a straight synonym for $\phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\alpha$, 'impression'. In its standard Hellenistic usage, established by the Stoics (*SVF* ii. 55), the term signifies an *illusory* impression or its object, and the neutral use survives as an Epicurean idiosyncrasy (cf. Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt.* 75, *Ep. Pyth.* 88, 102, 110), for the very good reason that Epicurean epistemology disavows the familiar distinction between veridical and illusory impressions (cf. *Ep. Hdt.* 51, although the term used there is $\phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon$). Hence we have here further confirmation of Epicurean authorship.

col. iii. 5–6 Presumably [$\kappa\alpha$]τ', as in i 13.

16 $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ τ[ι]?

3659. AGAINST PHILOSOPHERS

29 4B.56/X(1–3)b

9.0 × 13.7 cm

Second/third century

Part of one column of writing, and a few initial letters from the next; inter-column *c.* 2 cm; back blank. A sheet-join can be seen to the right, just before the

second column. The scribe writes a small, neat, sloping Severe Style,¹ with frequent space-fillers; he uses iota adscript consistently, and omits elided vowels; punctuation by paragraphus and high stop, and by middle stop for lesser breaks.

Philosophers disagree, says the writer, even about the most obvious things: a group of philosophers will quarrel more noisily than a group of madmen—indeed, Antisthenes prefers madness to pleasure, Aristippus was mad for pleasure, Plato . . . This tenuous argument matches the rhetorical style, all questions and repetitions; we may be dealing with a diatribe or dialogue (but *οδτος* in 25 does not prove that Antisthenes was present on the scene). An attack of this kind² might come from a philistine, or from a rival philosopher. Philosophers certainly treated the problem of philosophical disagreement, *διαφωνία* (cf. i 2–3): Stoics braved it (Posid. fr. 435c Th. = 1 EK), Sceptics found in it another reason to suspend judgement (SE, PH i 164). Practical philosophers could mock the airy-fairy speculations of metaphysicians (Seneca, *Epist.* 88. 43–4).³ But this writer's tone certainly suggests simple satire more than scientific doubt. The likeliest parallel, then, is the work of Lucian: he too uses a small repertoire of crude doxography (Helm, *Lucian und Menipp* 83 ff.; cf. Lucian, *Hermotimus* 56) to lampoon philosophers of all schools, whose noisy disagreements lead only to the conclusion 'believe all, or believe none' (*Hermot.* 29). Dr Holford-Strevens compares Dio Chrysostom's *κατά τῶν φιλοσόφων*, described by Synesius as *λόγος . . . σφόδρα ἀπηγκωνισμένος καὶ οὐδὲν σχῆμα ὀνήσας* (*Dio* 37 B, pp. 236. 22–237. 2 Terzaghi).

col. i

]. α []. η []. . []
]δι. []ενει. . []. φω γ
νευκυμφωνους. γδεου
δουτωσαλλακαιτοναργυ
5 ρογκαιτοιτιγενοιταναρ
γυρουλευκοτεροναλλο

φω-
νείν, συμφωνούσιν δὲ οὐ-
δ' οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄργυ-
ρον—καίτοι τί γένοιτο ἂν ἀρ-
γύρου λευκότερον;—ἀλλ' ὁ-

col. i. 1], lower part of upright], η, epsilon or sigma], ., second, left side of mu or nu
2 ., perhaps part of upright], lower angle of epsilon or sigma; foot of upright], upper part of upright, perhaps with an oblique descending leftwards from the top (i.e. right-hand side of mu) 3 c., foot of upright

¹ The hand is *not* the same as that of XLII 3008, despite the editor's note there. In any case, as Mr M. F. Burnyeat remarks, the texts belong to quite different genres: 3659 is a satire, 3008 a serious Sceptic argument (on which see D. N. Sedley, *Phronesis* 27 (1982) 273 n. 26).

² Assuming that attack is central. We have only a fragment; Mr Jonathan Barnes points out that originally the weight might have fallen on ll. 11–16: 'political decisions are difficult (and the philosophers are too crazy to help)'.
³ We owe the reference to Mr R. B. Rutherford.

μφωστουτονοθρανααληκη
φησινειναιμελανα. γ
οτεροννκαιτολευκον
10 τουαργυρουπροστοα. η
λον. τιθαιμαστοντουςα.
θρωπουσιπεριεργησ γ
καιπολεμουυπερκυμ γ
μαχιςκαιπροσδωνκαι
15 αγαλωματωνκαιτωνβου
λεγομενονδιαφερεσθαι
τιδεσταντουστρυκυφιλολο γ
φουρσει. τις. ντωιατωι
οικωικαθεριξε[]καιενετε
20 ρωιπαρακειμ[.] ωμαιο
μενουσιςαριθ[.] ρυεπολυ γ
]πολυμειζουσκραναγας
. κτωμφιλοσοφωνητων
] νομωνπροδοκα
25] υτοσγουνουτοσοαντι
] ησαςμεναιτεροναν
] ηναιφησινγηθη
], ιστιπποστι γ col. ii
] μαινεσθαι
30] ητιδεπλα . [. [
] λα. τιδε γ . []
] μεν. [] να ρ [α []
] εευ δ []

μωσ τοῦτον ὁ θραναάληκη
φησὶν εἶναι μέλανα.
ὅτε τοῖνυν καὶ τὸ λευκὸν
τοῦ ἀργύρου πρὸς τὸ ἄδη-
λον, τί θαιμαστὸν τοὺς ἀν-
θρώπους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης
καὶ πολέμου, ὑπὲρ κυμ-
μαχίας καὶ προσδῶν καὶ
ἀναλωμάτων καὶ τῶν <τοιούτων> βου-
λεομένων διαφέρεσθαι;
τί δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φιλοσό-
φους; οὐκ εἴ τις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
οἴκῳ καθείρξε[ι]ε καὶ ἐν ἐτέ-
ρω παρακειμ[ε]ν[ι]ω μαιο-
μένους ἱσαριθ[μ]ους, πολλὸν
. . .] πολλὸν μείζουσ κραναγας
ἐκ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἢ τῶν
μα]νομένων προσδοκα-
. . .] οὗτος γοῦν οὗτος ὁ Ἄντι-
σθέ]νης ἀσμεναιτερον ἀν
μα]νήναί φησιν ἢ ἠεθη-
ναι· ὁ δὲ Ἄ]ρίστιππος τί
c. 10] μαινεσθαι
c. 11] η· τί δὲ Πλά-
των c. 7] λα· τί δὲ
c. 11] μεν ε[] ναί
c. 15] ω
c. 15] ε ευ

col. i. 10 α., oblique descending from left to right (back of delta or lambda) 11 α., foot of upright
18 c., back and lower curve of epsilon or sigma υ and ω in *αντω* overwritten on something else
20], back and beginning of cross-bar of epsilon or theta 23 κ, short horizontal at mid-height
24], perhaps lower part of upright 27], top of upright between φ and η a point of ink at one-third height 28], trace level with letter-tops, perhaps upper arc of small circle 31], ., end of oblique foot as of lambda 32], upper angle of epsilon or sigma

col. ii. 31], perhaps left end of paragraphus, and below an oblique left side as of lambda.

col. i '... but even so they don't agree. Indeed, even silver—what could be whiter than silver?—yet still Thrasyalces says that silver is black. So, when even the whiteness of silver is on the doubtful side, what wonder that men differ when they consult about peace and war, about alliance and revenue and expenditure and things like that? And what about the philosophers themselves? If one were to shut them up in the same house, and an equal number of madmen in another house next door, one must expect much, much louder cries from the philosophers than from the madmen. Indeed, this man, this Antisthenes says he would more willingly go mad than have pleasure. And Aristippus, what (is he but) mad (for pleasure?). And Plato...'

2 [σ]υμφο- likely; in that case, the upright before the gap is probably iota, and the end of a word, since the space does not allow much. Perhaps μὲν εἶσι, 'they are (in a good position?) to agree, but even so they don't'.

7-8 Thrasyalces exists only in two citations (*Vorsokratiker* i² p. 377): Strabo 17. 790, drawing on Posidonius (= fr. 5Th., 222 EK), calls him a Thasian and cites his view of the Nile flood; id. 1. 29, again perhaps from Posidonius (= fr. 29a Th., 137a EK), refers to his doctrine of the winds. He may be pre-Aristotelian, if, as Posidonius says, Aristotle's account of the Nile (i.e. Ps.-Aristotle, *de inund.*: fr. 246 R) drew on him; he is taken to be pre-Socratic from the nature of his interests. For Thasians named Thrasyalces Dr D. M. Lewis refers us to Dunant and Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* ii (1958) 280; no certain identification is possible.

'Silver is black' represents a new fragment, however garbled. The original context can only be guessed at. Thrasyalces may have argued (i) from first principles: thus Anaxagoras (59 A 97 DK) maintained that water is black, therefore snow is black—a similar, and much-mocked, paradox (Cic. *Acad.* 2. 100, SE, *PH* 2. 244 etc.); (ii) from physical observation, either (a) that silver tarnishes (indeed, tarnish may have been the normal condition of silver artefacts in classical Greece: see M. Vickers, *JHS* 1985), or (b) that silver shavings actually look black (SE, *PH* 1. 129, among the modes of ἐποχή mentioned by the Older Sceptics... ἐπέχων ἀναγκαζόμεθα περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν πραγμάτων... οὐκ... τοῦ ἀργύρου τὰ ῥήματα κατ' ἴδιον μὲν ὄντα μέλαινα φαίνεται, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἅλω ὡς λευκὰ ὑποπίπτει: we owe the reference to Mr. G. O. Hutchinson).

10-11 πρὸς τὸ ἀῤῃλον: in the context, this must mean 'counts as (comes under the heading of) uncertain'. But we have found no parallel for the idiom.

13-15 συμμαχίας fits awkwardly between the two pairs of contraries; one might expect e.g. συμμαχίας καὶ ἀπεχθείας, ὑπέρ).

18 After εἰ there is an apparent middle stop. We cannot fit this to any likely reconstruction; and therefore take it to be accidental, like the point after the phi in 27 φρεῖν.

22 The gap at the beginning would accommodate δῆ ἢ καὶ κραυγῆ of philosophical dispute, Lucian, *Hermot.* 11.

24-5 προσδοκά[τρω would continue the construction from 19, προσδοκά[τρε would be more lively. Space allows either.

25 ὄστος rather than αὐτός: the initial trace, a short horizontal at mid-height, suits a flat-based omicron better than alpha (whose tail ought to show on the undamaged papyrus below).

25-8 Antisthenes fr. 108 Caizzi μανείην μᾶλλον ἢ ἡθεσίην, frequently quoted and paraphrased.

28-9 These lines parallel 25-7, through the idea of madness; but presumably contrast with them as well, since Aristippus was as notoriously for pleasure as Antisthenes against (similarly SE, *Math.* 11. 73 pits Antisthenes against Epicurus). Supply e.g. τί | [ἄλλο ἢ δοκεῖ] μαινέσθαι (Hutchinson) | [ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἡδονῇ]; (But note that the scribe elsewhere writes iota adscript regularly; which makes it harder to take 30]η as a dative.)

31], λα: the first trace suggests alpha or lambda. The writer may turn to general abuse: e.g. τί δὲ Πλά[ττωνος τὰ πο]λλά; More likely, he would continue with another obsession: τί δὲ Πλά[ττωνος τὰ ε]λάδα; 'How does Plato stand towards the Beautiful? (He's crazy, like the rest)'. καὰ glances at works like the *Symposium*; similarly the caricature Socrates in Lucian, *Vitarum Auctio* 15, declares a special talent εὐεῖναι καλῶ.

31 ff. A possible pattern would be: (Why does X say) καλὸν] μὲν ε[πι]ναί[... διετυχε]ῖν | [... αἰσχρὸν δ]ε εὐ[τοχεῖν];

3660. LATIN WORD-LIST

39 5B.117/E(1-2)

18.9 × 30.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century

This puzzling text consists of a list of Latin words, including proper names and phrases, beginning with the letters *g*, *h*, *i*, and *l* and written on both sides of a large papyrus codex-leaf. On the ↓ side, which precedes the → side, entries in *g* and *h* are written in two main columns separated by a wide intercolumnium with a few further words squeezed into the top right-hand corner. There is no trace of a third column in the lower half of this side and the right-hand edge appears sufficiently straight and neat for it to have been the original fore-edge. The entries in *i* and *l* on the → side, however, are written in three complete and less widely separated columns. The last of these is close to the edge of the papyrus, but that this is a break down the central fold is not certain. Since there is a reasonable margin of 1.8 cm below *interregibus* in → i 24 and the corner at the fore-edge is more or less a right angle we probably have the remains of the lower edge. If the leaf is not much less than original size it would fall into Turner's Group 5 for the dimensions of papyrus and parchment codices (*The Typology of the Early Codex* 16-17).

The text is not a glossary, since none of the entries is glossed in either Greek or Latin. It is not paralleled by any of the papyrus and vellum glossaries or word-lists listed by Pack² under nos. 2997, 3003-8, and 3008a, nor by anything in G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinarum* i-vii or W. M. Lindsay, *Glossaria Latina* i-v, all of which contain a lemma with explanation. Although some words are represented in these later glossaries, there is no consistent or systematic relationship. Some words and phrases are of a military and legal nature, others are geographical or personal names, e.g. *Lillybaeum* (→ ii 18), *Hesiodus* (↓ ii 9) and *Hecuba* (↓ ii 16), but all seem to be prose words. A noun may occur in the nom. sing. and then again in the nom. pl., e.g. *glans, glandes* (↓ i 8-9), an adj. may be repeated with a substantive, e.g. *intestinum, intestinum bellum* (→ ii 6-7), a positive adj. may be followed by a superlative, e.g. [*ho*] *norificus, honorificentissimus* (↓ ii 20-2) or a verb in participial form by the finite, e.g. *ingressus pr[o]vinciam, ingreditur provinciam* (→ i 13-16), or a word may occur in different expressions, e.g. *heres*, etc. (↓ ii 11-14). P. Sorb. I 8 (= Pack² 3008), a Latin-Greek word-list in *l* and *m* of the middle or second half of the third century, provides a parallel for the listing of the same word in different forms and phrases; the editor of this text draws a comparison here with the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* (Goetz iii) but these again are bilingual.

As commonly in antiquity the alphabetization extends only to the first letter, and in ↓ ii 10 a word in *a* has been placed in the *h* sequence. (See L. W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Collection Latomus 90, 27 ff.)

The strangest group of entries is the declension of *interrex* at the bottom of → i. The only word treated in this way on either side of the leaf, it has six cases in the sing. and two in the pl., with the rest of the pl. possibly at the top of col. ii. If the readings are correct, the cases in the sing. begin with the nom.; the second is doubtful but is followed by the

dat., gen., abl., acc. and then the nom./acc. and dat./abl. pl. This is quite contrary to the normal order of nom., gen., dat., acc., voc., abl. given by all the Latin grammarians (see e.g. Priscian (ed. Hertz), *Inst. Gram.* 5, 74 in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* ii, and for the other grammarians the indexes in Keil, i, iii-viii s.v. *casus*) and also occurring in the declensions of nine Latin nouns in a Latin-Greek grammar on vellum of the fifth-sixth centuries (K. Wessely, *WS* 8 (1886) 218-21 = Pack² 2997). For *inlęęrege*[in l. 18, which appears to be the same form as in l. 21, I can suggest (unless it is simple forgetfulness) only that one is a voc. mistakenly made to end in -e like the 2nd decl. or the so-called *casus septimus*. Cf. e.g. Donatus, *Ars Gram.* 2. 9 = Keil iv 377, *quidam adsumunt etiam septimum casum, qui est ablativo similis, sed sine praepositione ab*—an idea strongly attacked by Priscian, *Inst. Gram.* 5, 78-9. Neither explanation is convincing.

The text is written by two hands, the second starting at → ii 17. The first has made a clear error in → i 11, *Ilerga* for *Ilerda*, and in ↓ i 10, ii 13, 16 has made alterations or additions; generally the spelling is conservative. At ↓ ii 7 and 8 -*que* is abbreviated to *q*.

The nature and purpose of the text remain a mystery to me. A reasonably high proportion of the words and phrases occur in Livy, especially in the third and fourth decades, and in Cicero, especially in the *Verrines* (see notes), both of whom are known to have been read in Egypt (see Pack² 2918-27). It is possible, therefore, that we have a list of selected words from these two or a small group of prose authors, but a definite conclusion is impossible with so much of Livy and other authors lost. Caesar and, on present evidence, Sallust are unlikely sources, since they do not have a sufficiently high proportion of the words listed. Both hands are competent and do not indicate a school exercise. Perhaps, as Professor H. G. T. Maehler suggests, the text represents a stage preliminary to the normal bilingual glossaries, before the Greek equivalents had been added. If it is, as it were, a draft, it might explain the change in layout between the ↓ and → sides and the insertion of a few words at the top right of ↓.

It may be worth noting that P. Sorb. I 8, though less extensive, seems to contain a similar range of military and other words and phrases.

The ink is metallic of a reddish-brown colour, and has in many places faded badly and been rubbed even where the surface of the papyrus survives. Ultra-violet light is of no help in reading.

I would assign the text to the fourth-fifth centuries, or perhaps the late fourth. The first hand is an upright, or at times backward-sloping, cursive half-uncial which gives the impression of having been written by a documentary scribe. *c*, *f*, *r*, and *s* are large and usually rise above the line; the verticals of *h* and *l* are often 'clubbed' at the top, and the horizontal of the latter generally extends below the line and hooks back on itself; *d* is sometimes made in one movement, although that in → ii 3 is clearly made of a bowl and clubbed ascender. *b*, *p*, and *q* are relatively narrow letters. Ligatures are frequent, especially after *a*, *e*, and *l*. It resembles in a general way CPR V 13 (Taf. 25) + P. Rainer Cent. 165 (Taf. 118), a military dossier bearing dates in AD 395, 396, and 401, which

may have been written in or close to AD 401 and in any case is not likely to be more than about twenty-five years later. Comparable hands can be found in R. Roca-Puig, *Himne a la Verge Maria*, 'Psalmus Responsorius', pls. 1-7, dated to the second half of the fourth century, and in *CLA* iii 288 (= PSI 110), 289 (= PSI 142), and 290 (= PSI 756), all three of which are dated by E. A. Lowe to the fifth century, although R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* ii 1, no. 61 assigns *CLA* 288 to the middle of the fourth. *CLA* x 1519 and 1537 (= Seider, nos. 42 and 39), assigned to the fourth or fifth centuries, are more set in their stance. *CLA* ii 210 (= VIII 1097), assigned by the original editor, by Lowe, and by Seider, pl. 50, to the fifth century, and by J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*, pl. 22, to somewhere between the third and fifth centuries, is a less suitable parallel, being more bookish and less flowing in appearance. Closer, though still more bookish, are the scholia of the Bembine Terence dated by Lowe, *CLA* i 12, to the fourth-fifth centuries and by Mallon, pl. 24. 1, to the fourth. The remains of the second hand are less extensive. I can find no good parallel but it is a forward-sloping, more cursive, and lighter hand.

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	↓		
		.]... [
		.]exe. [
		.]e[.]e[
		..]. [	h. . . . [
	<i>ge.g. . . [</i>		n. . . . [
	<i>geneq[. . . .</i>	5 <i>his.</i>	
	<i>g[e]nealogia</i>	<i>H[er]osolym. . .</i>	
	<i>gymnasium</i>	<i>h[i]c adq(ue) . . .</i>	
	5 <i>gymnasiarchus</i>	<i>hinc adq(ue) i[]/[i]n[]</i>	
	<i>Grumentum</i>	<i>Hesiodus</i>	
	<i>gubernator</i>	10 <i>andromedus</i>	
	<i>glans</i>	<i>heres institut-</i>	
	<i>glandes</i>	<i>tus</i>	
	10 <i>gręx</i>	<i>heres scriptus</i>	
	<i>gres. re[]iacus</i>	<i>heres relictus</i>	
	. . . t. f	15 <i>Hosdroena</i>	
	. . .] . tus	<i>Hecuba</i>	
	. . . . nat	<i>honor</i>	
	15 . . .]	<i>[h]onestus</i>	
	<i>g[]ob[] . []</i>	<i>[h]onestissimus</i>	

	<i>Gallic</i> . . . <i>re</i>	20	[<i>ho</i>] <i>norificus</i>
	<i>Gallocre</i> . [.] .		[<i>ho</i>] <i>norificentis-</i> <i>simus</i>
	<i>Gall cre</i> . [.] .		<i>histrig</i>
20	<i>Gallia Cis[alpin]a</i>		<i>historia</i>
	<i>Gallia Tr[ansalpin]a</i>	25	<i>historiogra-</i> <i>fus</i> <i>Hiero</i>
	<i>g</i> [.] [.]		

↓ col. i. 1 Initial *g* appears to have been written twice, the second time slightly to the right. Between *g* and *g* mid trace of a letter . . . [.], low and middle traces of two letters. 2 *l*, horizontal extending below line reasonably clear; after *l* 3 or 4 letters. Here and elsewhere it is not always possible to distinguish between mud and ink. 3 *i*, short vertical stroke; left of *u* also possible. 10 *r* corr. from *l*. 11 Initial *g* seems required by the alphabetic sequence; extreme left of horizontal just visible on papyrus but not on photograph. Possibly traces between *s* and *r*. *ei* probably better than *eh*. 12 Letter before *t* joins it at mid-point of stem, e.g. *a* or *e*. *f*, appears not to be corrected from *s*. Between *f* and *f* seem to be two upward-facing curves linked to one another; *tuf* with *u* linked to *f*. Possibly another letter, *e* (?), inserted between feet of *s* and *r* in l. 11. 13 [.], *a*². 14 *a* appears to join *t* half-way down stem; better than *e*. 15 Only slight traces. 16 *o*, or *a*, *b*, or *d* or *u*. Then remains of one or more letters. 17 After *c* curved base of letter; photograph suggests *um*. Before *r*, *a* or *e*? Is there a letter added above this? 18 [.], base of rounded letter [.], top of curve? 19 [.], similar traces to those in l. 18. [.], part of horizontal stroke. 21 After *t* low speck probably extended cross-bar. Only foot of *r* visible. 22 [.] [.], tops of letters only; high ink with top of vertical to right; 2nd or 3rd, *g* or *f*? Then tops of 3 verticals.

col. ii. 1 Traces only. 2 [.], trace on loose fibre. 3 [.] or [. .] 4 [.], curved base. 5 Traces of 6 or 7 letters, all indeterminate; 1st, low loop, 2nd, high ink curving downwards, 3rd, foot; 6th or 7th, high ink curving upwards, as of *e*, *e*, *r*. 6 *olym* . . ., 1st, base of rounded letter—*e* and *c* less good. *l* and *y* very close together. Then top of curve some way to right, probably *m*, followed by traces of 2 to 4 letters. 7 Traces of 3, perhaps 4 letters. 8 *n*, curve of oblique as it joins right vertical. *e*, base of curved letter. 17 *r*, not *s*. 23 *o*, base of small rounded letter. Above *tig* traces of letters inserted or stray ink? 27 Perhaps remains of another entry below.

col. iii. 1-2 Letters indistinguishable. There may be further entries but dark spots are more likely mud.

	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
→	. . [.] . . . [.]		. . . [.]
	<i>i</i> ng . . . [.]	. [.]	<i>l</i> . . <i>h</i>
	<i>ingenus</i>	<i>ignominiosus</i>	<i>l</i> [. . .] . <i>nes</i> . [. . .] . [.] . . . [.]
5	<i>inanit</i>	<i>impedit</i>	
	<i>inanus</i>	<i>instaurat</i>	5 <i>l</i> [. . .] [.]
	<i>i</i> . . . .	. . <i>elus</i>	<i>Leocrates</i>
	<i>i</i> . <i>eneus</i>	<i>intestinum</i>	<i>laccessit</i>

	<i>in provinciam</i>	<i>intestinum bellum</i>	<i>lasciby</i> [.]
10	<i>profectus est</i>	<i>Lipara</i>	<i>lu</i> . . [.]
	<i>Ilerga</i>	<i>Liparenis</i>	10 <i>lug</i> . [.]
	<i>Ilergetes</i>	10 <i>lymphaticus</i>	<i>lus</i> [.]
	<i>ingressus pr</i> [o-]	<i>lymfaticus paor</i>	<i>con</i> . [.]
	<i>uinciam</i>	(surface rubbed) [.]
15	<i>ingreditur pro-</i> <i>uinciam</i>	<i>lat</i> . .	<i>ly</i> . [.]
	<i>inlerrex</i>	<i>lucrum</i>	15 [.]
	<i>inlerrege</i> [.]	15 <i>lucra</i> . . . [.] <i>s</i>	[.]
	<i>interregi</i> [.]	<i>ludus</i>	<i>l</i> . . [.]
	20 <i>interregis</i> [.]	(m. 2) <i>lugubres</i> [. .]
	<i>interrege</i> [.]	<i>Lillybaeum</i>	<i>lil</i> [. .] <i>it</i>
	<i>interregem</i>	<i>Lillyb</i> . . . [.]	20
	<i>interreges</i>	20 <i>longi</i> . . . [.]	<i>l</i> [. . .] <i>mem</i>
	<i>interregibus</i>	. [.] . <i>g</i> . . . [.] <i>e</i>	<i>l</i> . . [.] . .
		<i>l</i>[ . . ] . . [ . ]	. . . . .
		. . [.]

→ col. i. 1 . . [.], feet of two verticals. 2 [.] . . [.], 1st, vertical; right of *n*? 2nd, right-facing curve, of *e*, *g*, or *t*. 3rd, only impression of a letter. 3 . . . [.], vague traces of 2 or 3 letters; 1st could be *e*. 7 Tops of 2 letters, feet of 2. 8 After *i* vertical with papyrus broken to right; *b*, *l*, *n*, *p*, *r*; *m* too wide. 21 Sufficient papyrus to the right at foot of *e* to indicate that it is almost certainly last letter.

col. ii. 1 . . [.], foot of vertical. 5 1st, lower part of vertical; ink apparently extending horizontally into left margin at mid-height. 2nd, foot of vertical. 6, horizontal ink cutting across middle of curve; perhaps from preceding letter because general stance suggests *e*, not *e*. The traces of horizontal ink in the 1st and 3rd letters might be part of a correcting stroke. *l*, anomalous shape at foot; corr. from base of curved letter. 11 *u* corr. from *b*. 13 *l* . . above *t* heavy ink mark, probably accidental. To right vertical ink with more descending to right, *e* possible. At least one more letter to right. 15 . . . [.], top of 1st, feet of 2nd and 3rd. High flourish sufficient to mark final letter as *s*, not *r*. 17 *ff*, not *ris* or *ria*. 19 . . . [.], feet of probably 2 letters, 2nd rounded; 3rd, foot of vertical, as of *i*. Hole could not contain more than 2 letters; further to right blank papyrus. 20 . . [.], right-facing curve with top of a loop above; *d*? Space for 3 or 4 letters. [.], left-facing curve; *o*? 21 . . [.], top of vertical; appears to be first letter of this line. [.], oblique rising to right; part of *n*? [.], low speck. Space for 3 or 4 letters. 22 . . [.], 1st, 2 specks. 2nd, part of oblique rising to right. 23 . . [.], low wavy line followed by horizontal ink at mid-point with oblique rising from it. This line is on a parallel with *i* 24.

col. iii. 1 [.] . . [.], tiny traces on loose fibres. 2 After *l*, *a* better than *e*; probably too narrow for *o* or *u*. Next, perhaps *c* or *t*. After *h* only slight traces. 3 [.], low ink with part of oblique rising to the right. [.], right-facing curve. 4 Only tops of letters. 5 Feet of letters very faded. 6 Before *o*, *c* or *r*. *es*, only feet visible but closely similar to *es* in *laccessit* (l. 7); *m* or *r* also possible for last letter. 9 . . [.], 1st, oblique rising to right. 2nd, tops of two verticals. 10 [.], low trace. 12 . . [.], top of high vertical; *b*, *d*, *i*, *l*. 13 and 14. Faint traces only. 15 and 16. Completely lost. 17 . . [.], in just possible. 18 Indistinguishable traces. 19 Second *ti* reasonably certain—ligatured as in *Lillybaeum* (→ ii 18). Then 3 letters ligatured with curved bases. Before *l*, *t* rather than *u* because high ascender. 20, 22, and 23. Traces only.

✓ col. i. 1 The only words fitting this sequence of letters are *geographia*, *geographicus*, *geographus*; the first of these occurs twice in Cicero; not in Livy.

2-3 One entry presumably *genealogus*, the other *genealogia*. The order may be the reverse of that transcribed. Neither occurs in Livy but *genealogus* is in Cic. *ND* 3. 44. *TLL* cites only later sources for *genealogia*, e.g. *Diom. GLK*. 1 482. 33.

4 5 times in Livy's fourth decade, once in the third; 3 times in Cic. *Verrines* and 24 elsewhere.

5 Not in Livy; in Cicero only at *Verr.* 4. 92.

6 3 times in Livy, all in the 3rd decade; not in Cicero. (For proper names in Cicero see J. G. Baizer and C. L. Kayser's edition (1869) xi.)

7 5 in Livy's third decade, 3 in the fourth, 2 elsewhere; 27 in Cicero.

8-9 5 in Livy's fourth decade, one elsewhere; 3 in Cicero.

10 5 in Livy's third decade, 4 in the fourth, 4 elsewhere; 2 in Cic. *Verrines*, 30 elsewhere.

11 *gres*, *rejiacus* for *Gesoriacum* a remote possibility, J.R.R.

12-13 If l. 12 ends in *f*, ll. 12-13 must form one word; little may be lost in l. 13. If *s*, however, is read, *grjatus* would be possible, H.G.T.M., J.R.R.

14 If the word is complete in this line and is a 3rd sing. pres. indic., possibilities are *geminat*, *germinat*, *glutinat*, *gubernat*, of which probably only the first is short enough.

16 *globus* (vel *sim.*) probably better than *glaucus* (vel *sim.*). Words of the former root appear in Livy and Cicero but not of the latter. I think not *gladius*.

17 *Gallicum*¹⁷ are may be illusory.

18-19 *Gallocrec[] = Gallograscia*, i.e. Galatia, H.G.T.M. Presumably ll. 18 and 19 are variations of the same root; perhaps l. 18 *Gallocrec[u]* with the top of *s* visible and l. 19 *Gallocrec[]g* with a trace of the horizontal extension of *a*. The former occurs 7 times in Livy, all in the fourth decade, and in Cic. *har. resp.* 13; the latter 3 times in Livy's fourth decade, not in Cicero. For the regular *ae > e* see C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, p. 88. Misspellings involving *e* and *g* are rare among the papyri; see J. N. Adams, *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus* 30.

20 Once in Livy's fourth decade; not in Cicero.

21 Not in Livy; in Cicero, only at *Mur.* 89.

22 *g[e]niti[s]*, H.G.T.M. Once only in Livy; 11 times in Cicero, including once in the *Verrines*.

col. ii. 2 No word begins *gex*, so this must be part of the *h* sequence. For words in *hexe-* *TLL* gives *hexeontalithos*, *hexeremis*, *hexeris*; the first is cited for Pliny, *NH*, the second for Schol. Lucan, the third for Val. Max., but also for Livy, where it occurs three times, once in the third decade, twice in the fourth.

5 If this is a single word and not *hi s-*, a word on the root of *histris* or *historia* (cf. ll. 23-4) or *hispidus*. *Hispania* and *Hister* are too short.

6 The alignment of the left-hand edge of the column just allows *H[]* rather than *I[]*, cf. the space occupied by *hi* in l. 8. The final traces would allow *Hierosolymam*, i.e. taken as a fem. sing., not a neut. pl. Not in Livy as extant, but cf. *epit.* 102; twice in Cicero, both in *Flac.* 67, where both sing. and pl. forms are found in the MSS.

7 l. *atq(ue)*. Cf. Grandgent, p. 119 and Adams 25-9. Presumably *hic atque illic*. Not in Livy or Cicero.

8 l. *atq(ue)* again. Once in Livy's third decade, 3 times in the fourth, once elsewhere; in Cicero only *hinc illincque*.

9 A surprising entry but there is no doubt about the reading. Not in Livy; 9 times in Cicero; also in Quintilian, Pliny, *NH*, and poets *passim*.

10 *Vox nihili*; and out of alphabetic sequence unless an aspirate is to be supplied. A garbled version of *Hadrumetus* (-um)? (J. R. Rea)

11-12 Not in Livy in this form but once in the fourth decade with a finite verb. In participial form in Cic. *Caec.* 53 and elsewhere.

13 Not in Livy at all; in Cic. *Verr.* 2. 36 and twice elsewhere.

14 Twice in Livy in finite form, once in the first decade, once in the fourth; 3 times in Cicero in finite form, once in participial form.

15 = *Ὀστρονή* in Mesopotamia, H.G.T.M. The earliest citations given by Forcellini-Perin, s.v. *Ostrohoene* are all fourth-century historians, especially Ammianus Marcellinus, in whom it appears as *Ostroena* at 14. 3. 2, 14. 8. 7, 23. 2. 7, and as *Osdruena* at 24. 1. 2. Forcellini-Perin also cite the sixth-century historian, Jordanes, *Romana* 230 (p. 30. 9 Mommsen) for the spelling *Hosroine*; *CIL* vi 31836 has *Hosroen*].

16 Not in Livy; 5 times in Cicero.

17 In Livy *passim*, although nom. in -r only once; in Cicero *passim* but only 3 certainly *honor*.

18 Cicero and Livy *passim*.

19 Not in Livy; in Cicero 135 times, of which 52 in the *Verrines*.

20 3 in Livy, of which one in the fourth decade; once in Cic. *Verrines*, 3 elsewhere.

21-2 Not in Livy; 7 times in Cicero.

23 4 in Livy, all in 7. 2; 34 in Cicero, only once in *Verrines*.

24 Not in Livy; Cicero *passim* but not in *Verrines*.

25-6 Cited by *TLL* only for authors of the fourth century and later, e.g. Marius Victorinus, Rufinus. For $\phi > f$ see Grandgent, p. 139.

27 Almost certainly no further ink after θ ; i.e. not *Hieron* or *Hieronymus*. *Hiero* 38 times in Livy, all in the third decade; 4 times in Cicero, of which 3 in the *Verrines*.

→ col. i. 4 Probably l. *ingenuus* rather than *in genus*. By the middle of the first century *u* after consonants and before an unaccented *u* was lost, see Grandgent, p. 95. If so, 15 times in Livy of which 4 in the third decade, 5 in the fourth; in Cicero 4 in the *Verrines*, 42 elsewhere.

5 Cited by *TLL* first for Lucr. 6. 1005 and then 5 times in Pliny, *NH*. Not in Livy or Cicero.

6 Cited by *TLL* for Lucr. 6. 1025, where *est . . . inantius*.

8 *Itenus*, H.G.T.M. The arrangement of entries might favour *iq-* but this produces nothing sensible.

9-10 Twice in the third sing. perf. and twice in the third pl. in Livy; 5 times in Cicero of which 2 in the *Verrines*, 12 times in other forms.

11 Evidently an error for *Ilerda* under the influence of the next entry, *Ilergetes*, a Spanish tribe of whom it was one of the principal cities. Not in Livy or Cicero, but at Caes. *BC* 1. 38 and Livy, *epit.* 416. See Forcellini-Perin s.v.

12 21 times in Livy, 19 in the third decade, twice in the fourth; not in Cicero.

13-16 Neither phrase occurs in any form in Livy or Cicero.

17-24 See introd. Descending obliquely into the left margin from first *i* of *interregibus* is a heavy ink mark; is it accidental or some kind of check mark?

col. ii. 2 11 times in Livy, 3 times in the third decade, 8 elsewhere; only once in Cicero.

3 Livy and Cicero *passim*.

4 In Livy 15 times in the third decade, 15 in the fourth, 11 elsewhere; 7 times in Cicero, of which one in the *Verrines*.

5 I can make nothing of this. Perhaps -*clis* by syncope for -*culus*. *instaurat*[[*i*]]*icius* (cf. Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 11. 5) with the first *i* of l. 5 mistakenly written in alignment with l. 4, would be an attractive solution, but -*clis* cannot be read.

6 Without *bellum* 4 times in Livy's third decade, 5 in the fourth, 19 elsewhere; 14 times in Cicero, of which one in the *Verrines*.

7 9 times in Livy, of which one in the third decade; twice in Cicero.

8 Once in Livy's third decade, once in the first, though in pl. form; not in Cicero.

9 Once in Livy, in the first decade; 4 times in Cicero, all in the *Verrines*: 3. 84 (*bis*) and 85 (*bis*).

10 Without *paor* not in Livy or Cicero.

11 An interesting variation in spelling from the preceding entry; cf. \downarrow ii 25-6. Not in Cicero but in Livy at 10. 28. 10; this is the only example of the phrase cited by *TLL*. *Paor*: for the alternation of *b* and *u* see Grandgent, p. 133-4 and Adams 31-2. Cf. the *b* for *u* left unaltered in → iii 8.

14 Only 3 times in Livy, of which one in the third decade; 45 times in Cicero, of which 23 in the *Verrines*.

15 *lucraffij*[*v*], H.G.T.M. Not in Livy; in Cicero only at *ad Att.* 7. 11. 1; most of the examples cited by *TLL* are much later, occurring especially in the jurists.

16 Livy and Cicero *passim*.

17 6 times in Livy, but only twice in the neut. form: once in the third decade, once in the fourth; 8 times in Cicero but only once in this form.

18 25 times in Livy of which 23 in the third decade and the remaining two in the fourth; 11 times in Cicero, of which all but two in the *Verrines*. For the doubled *ll*, see Grandgent, p. 69 on the general confusion of single and double consonants.

19 Presumably the name of the inhabitants, in the form *Lillybaei*. This is the less common form (see Forcellini-Perin) but *Lillybaetanus**i* will not fit. The latter occurs 4 times in Cicero, of which 3 in the *Verrines*. (Or simply the locative?)

20 I can find nothing suitable; not *longitudo*.

21 If this is not a continuation of the preceding entry, $\{[o]ngi[nqu]e\}$?

col. iii. 2 *Lachezēs* possible?

6 *Leocrateēs* not certain.

7 Livy and Cicero *passim*.

8 l. *lascivus*; cf. → ii 11. Not in Livy; only once in Cicero (*ad Att.* 2. 3. 1).

11-12 *lus[trum] | cond[itum] (vel sim.)*. An interesting parallel is provided by P. Sorb. I 8 i 4-7, *cond[it]u[m] | iust[rum]; iustro condito; condito iustro*.

19 Not *lilium*; but if *lilia*, I cannot understand what follows: perhaps a verb.

II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

3661. HOMER, *Iliad* 3. 383-410 (?)

43 5B. 71/E(1-8)b

4.2 × 15.3 cm

Second/third century

A long, narrow, badly broken strip of papyrus. Below 397 there are traces of letters in seven more lines, probably 402-4, 406-7, and 409-10, with space for, but no ink remaining from, 405 and 408. This would make a column of at least 28 lines; the upper margin is 1.2 cm high.

The text contains little of interest: 389, omitted in three other papyrus texts without detriment to the grammatical sense, has here been omitted and inserted after 390; there is a metrical variant in 393. The original scribe has marked diaereses over an initial and final iota and made interlinear additions.

The hand is an informal but stylish bookhand of medium size with a fairly marked backward slope. Delta has a broad, flat base but alpha is rounded. Ligatures are frequent. Iota when ligated with alpha, but not with epsilon, is especially long. Closely comparable examples are difficult to find. VI 853 (= C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 17a), assigned to the middle of the second century, has a similar *αι* ligature but is more upright and less mannered in style than the present hand. XXI 2306, assigned to the second century, also has several ligatures but is more informal. However, the cursive *αι* ligature in 384 might point to a date in the third century.

The back is blank.

Collated with T. W. Allen's *editio maior* (Oxford 1931). No other papyri of this passage published since 1931 contain anything of relevance to the text.

	<i>Ελενη</i>]ν καλοεγς ἴε ττην δε κ[ι]χανε
	] περι 'δε' Τρωαι αλιε ησαν [
385	νεκταρ]σου εανου ετιναξε λαβ[ουσα
	] παλαιχεγεῖ προσεειπ[εν
	Λακ]εδαμοι ναιεταωρη[
388	καλ]α μαλιετα δε μιν φιλ[εεσκε
390	] καλ[ει ο]ικρον δε νεε[εθαι
389	ειεαμεν]η προ[ε]εφωνεε δι Α[φροδιτη
391	] δενωτ 'ο' ζι λε[χεεεε
	] ουδε κε φα[ι]ηε
	ε]λθεμεν α[λλα
	λη]χουτ[α] καθι[ζειν

395] εϛ[ι ς]τῆθεσσιν []
] περὶ[κα]λλεῖα δε[ιρην]
]... []

383 δ corr. from a letter of which a low horizontal with foot of a vertical rising from the middle visible.
 387 η[, much better than ς[, *ναεταώση* P³ codd. plerique (-αώσα O²): *καὶ ἔδει μὲν ναεταώση*. schol. AT: *καὶ ὄφειλε μὲν ναεταώση, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡ χρῆσις Ἰώνων*. schol. b (BCE²): *τὸ θηλυκὸν ναεταώσα* epim. O⁸ in *Ναιεταώσα*: codd. alii Athen. 191 A: *ναεταώση* codd. plures.

389 om. P²⁴ P⁷⁸ P. Hamb. 157: 'lost' in III 542 (descr.).

391 *δωνωτοίσι* A d P²¹ V² V⁶ Hsch. δ 517: *δωνωτοίσι* vulg. Eust. Hsch. δ 1857: *καὶ διὰ τοῦ τ φησὶν ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ σχημάτων* (2. 847. 8) schol. b (BCE²) T: Ap. S. 59. 5, Alex. Cot. apud Orum (?) in Et. Gen. (AB) *δωνωτοίσι*, Ep. Hom. (An. Ox. 1. 114. 10, Et. Gud. 366. 8 Stef.).

393 Over ν correction or stray ink? ε[λλέμεν: ἐλθεῖν codd. ἐλθέμεν occurs seven times elsewhere in the *Iliad* in this *sades*, ἐλθεῖν five times, but according to P. Maas (tr. H. Lloyd-Jones), *Greek Metre* § 84, only one line in about twenty has a monosyllabic biceps at this point before a stop. The scribe has thus used the metrically more usual form.

394 After τ top of α or stray ink? After ζ trace of ζ possible but if so, much faded.

397]... [: *αιρ* of *μαρμαίροντα* possible.

3662. HOMER, *Iliad* 5. 1-19

58/B 79(a)

34

17.6 × 10.3 cm

Third century

Top part of a column written on the ↓ side, the → side having remains from one column of a register of house-property. The left-hand margin is very wide, at least 4.5 cm, indicating that nothing preceded this column. Originally the roll must have extended further to the left because the lines of the document are broken on the right-hand side.

The hand is a poorly executed example of the 'severe' style, showing a marked unevenness in the flow of ink, e.g. in the alpha of *Ηφαίστ[ι]* in 10 only the outlines of the right-hand oblique stroke are apparent; the pen was obviously short of ink and the scribe exerted greater pressure than usual to complete the stroke, with the result that the split point of the nib spread out. Chi in 15 clearly shows that the pen has been dipped into the ink between strokes; the first oblique is faint, the second clear and black. The letters are of medium size, irregular, and sloping to the right. Epsilon, theta, omicron, and sigma are fairly narrow, alpha, delta, and lambda triangular, mu, nu, and pi broad; iota, rho, tau, and upsilon descend well below the line; omega has lost its central vertical.

The document may be assigned to the first half of the third century, and the *Iliad* text, therefore, to the mid-third century. Similar hands occur in PSI XIII 1304 (assigned to the second century), XVII 2093 (late second or early third century), XI 1365 (early third), and III 458, IV 676, VI 863, and VII 1014 (all assigned to the third century).

Several phonetic errors, a superfluous nu epheleysticon, and the general appearance of the copy indicate a lack of care on the part of the scribe. Iota adscript is not written, but the first hand has added a diaeresis in 1 and an apostrophe in 2, and has made a correction in 11.

Collation is with T. W. Allen's *editio maior* (Oxford 1931). Another papyrus containing the same lines has been published as XLIX 3439, and similarly has nothing of textual interest.

ενθ αυ Τυδει[δη Διομη]θεῖ Πρ[α]λας Α[θηνη]
 δωκε μενρ[ς και θαρρος ι]ν' εκδ[η]λος μετ[α]
 Αργειοι γεν[ουτο ιδ]ε κλεος εςθλον αρρ[ι]το
 δεε οι εκ κορυθ[ο]ς τε και αστιδος ακαμμα[τον]
 5 αςτερι οπωρειω εγαλιγκιον ος τε μα[λις]τα
 λαμπρον παμφανηςν λελουμενο[ς]
 τοιον οι πυρ δεεν απο κρατος τε και []
 ωρσε δε μιν κατα μεσσον οτι πλεις[τοι]
 ην δε τις εν Τρωεσσι Δαρης αφνειος αμ[υμων]
 10 ειρεως Ηφαιστ[οι]ρ δυω δε οι υιεες ης[την]
 Φηγευς Ιδαμ[ος] τς μαχης ευ 'ει 'δοτε π[αχης]
 τω οι απο[κρυθεν]τε εναντιον ωρμ[ηθητην]
 τω μεν α[φ] ιππουν ο δ] απο χθονος ωρν[υτο]
 ρι δ οτε δ[η] χεδον η]σαν επ αλληλοι[ς]ειν
 15 Φηγευς ρα [προτερος] προiei δολιχος[κιον]
 Τυδειδε[ω δ υπερ ω]μον αριςτερον η[λυθ]
 ενχεος ορδ [εβαλ αυ]τον ο δ υςτερος ρ[ρυνυτο]
 Τυδειδης [του δ ου]χ αλιον βελος εκφν[γχε]
 ρ[λλ] εβαλε στηθος μεταμ]αζ[ι]ον

2]ν': confused combination of strokes caused by the long iota in 1 crossing the apostrophe.

4 δεε ο: for the change of αι to ε see Maysen I² 1 83 and Gignac i 191-2. *δαίε* vulg. (*ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις* EU.); the other readings—*δαίε δέ* οί P³ codd. plures qu. EU.: *δ' οί* M⁴ V²⁷: *οί* B: *δαίεν οί* codd. alii—were designed to remove an apparent hiatus (see S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 14).

5 αςτερι: P³ codd. plur. v. l. EU. The apparently unmetrical form is here probably *scriptio plena* to prevent the reader from assuming that *ἀςτέρ* represents *ἀστέρα*. *οπωρειω*: l. *ὀπωρινῶν*. *εγαλιγκιον*: λ probably corr. from ο.

6 *παμφανηςν*: the addition of nu epheleysticon has made the line unmetrical.

7 Between ν and ο another jumble of strokes with the long descender of ρ in 6 joining the right-hand hasta of ν; ν and ο corr. from π.

δεεν: cf. 4.

8 $\sigma\tau\iota$: probably a mere error and not evidence for the gradual confusion of aspirated and unaspirated stops which began (at least in Egypt) in the imperial period.

10 The reason for the slanted obelus is not apparent. It is sometimes used to indicate an omission, but that is not the case here. Like the diplo and obelos periestigmenos it may be used as a reference mark for a marginal note. See K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri* (Diss. Ann Arbor 1977) 107–12 and n. 30.

11 $\Phi\eta\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$: ϕ corr. from η or π ? $\epsilon\iota$ inserted probably by the first hand.

12 $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ codd. plerique: $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\omega$ Ψ^1 codd. alii.

$\omega\rho\mu\iota\eta\theta\eta\tau\eta\nu$: so codd. plerique: $\delta\rho\mu\eta\theta\eta\tau\eta\nu$ Ψ^1 codd. alii.

13 $\omega\rho\upsilon$ [$\upsilon\tau\omicron$]: so codd. plerique: $\delta\rho\nu\upsilon\tau\omicron$ codd. alii.

17 $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$: l. $\xi\gamma\chi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

19 After $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\alpha\zeta$ a few more indistinct traces.

3663. HOMER, *Iliad* 18

36 4B. 99/C(1–4)a, F(1–4)a,
G(1–4)a, H(4–6)b,
J(1–2)a
95/D(1–2)a
100/C(1–4)a, E(4–6)a

Fr. 1 12.1 × 13.6 cm

Third century

Nine fragments of a handsome papyrus roll containing substantial parts of *Iliad* 18. There were probably 32 lines to a column, giving for the whole book 19 or 20 columns, of which fr. 1 and 2 represent col. ii, fr. 3 cols. iii and iv, fr. 4 and 5 cols. vi and vii respectively, fr. 6, the largest, cols. ix and x, fr. 7 col. xi, fr. 8 a trace from the lower part of col. xi and part of col. xii, and fr. 9 col. xiii. The depth of written area was about 18 cm, which with generous upper and lower margins of at least 3.7 cm and 4 cm respectively gives a minimum height for the roll of 25.7 cm. The minimum intercolumnium is 2.7 cm; the width of a column and the following intercolumnium is about 20.8 cm, so that *Il.* 18 (617 lines) would have occupied a written length of approximately 4 m. This suggests that the whole roll contained one, if not two, more books, and since 18. 1 was the top of col. i and therefore probably the beginning of the roll, 19 (424 lines) and 20 (503 lines) perhaps followed. (F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*² 53–5 gives the length of an average roll as between about 7 and 10 m.) Where line-beginnings survive (fr. 3, 6, 8, 9), the columns show a pronounced slope outward to the left, according to Maas's law.

The hand is a good, carefully written example of the 'Biblical Majuscule' type, showing a considerable contrast between the thick vertical and thin horizontal strokes. The letters are strictly bilinear, except for rho, upsilon, and phi; a particularly odd example of rho protruding well above the upper 'line' occurs in $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in 296. Alpha, delta, and lambda sometimes have their obliques continuing upwards in a vertical direction; the lower oblique of kappa descends at times directly from the hasta but at others from the upper oblique. Similar hands occur in, e.g. P. Ryl. III 547, dated to the later part of the second century, and in P. Berol. 7499, 13411 and P. Gron. 21, all probably belonging

to the third century (= pls. 7a, 19a, 24, and 26b respectively in G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*). XXII 2334 is assigned by the original editor to the later second century, by E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, no. 26, to the third/fourth century, and by Cavallo (p. 50 and pl. 29) to the fourth, while the dates for IV 773 range from the second century (original editor) to the third quarter of the fourth (Cavallo, pp. 64–5 and pl. 41). These fragments of *Iliad* 18 probably belong to the third century. The round terminal dots on the top curve and cross-bar of epsilon, both curves of sigma, and the top oblique of kappa certainly suggest the third century rather than the second.

A few lectional signs and one correction, in 100, have been added by the first hand, but unless otherwise stated all lectional signs, deletions, and corrections are by a second hand which has used a paler ink. Care has been taken over the correction of the text, but two mistakes have been overlooked—a superfluous sigma in 214 and epsilon written instead of sigma in 301. Elision is effected but not marked by the original scribe. Iota adscript is written. The back is blank.

The text, collated with the *editio maior* of T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1931), contains nothing more of special note. In overlapping passages readings agree with P. Mich. Priest 31 (inv. 2 + 2755a + 3160).

fr. 1

Αχϵ]λγος· ρ [δ] εϵτε[ν]ε κυδαλμο[ν
 λαι]μον[α[.]ον] απ̄̄μ̄̄η̄̄σει ειδ[ηρωι
 35] ωιμω[ξ̄]εν· ακουσε δε ποτ[ν]ια μητ[ηρ
 βεν]θεσσιν αλος παρα πατρι [γ]εροντ[ι
 ε]πειτα· θ[ε]αι δε μν αμφαχεροντο [·
] βενθο[ρ]αλος Νηρηϊδες ησαν·
 40 Γλαυ]κη τε· Θάλειά τε Κυμοδοκ[η] τε·
 τ]ε· Θόη θ'· Άλιη τε βοωπις·
 41 κ]αι Ακταιη· και Α[.] μινώρει[α
 43] τε Φ[ε]ρ[ουσα] τε Δύναμενη τε·
 Αμφινομ]η· και Καλλιανειρα·
 45 αγακλ]ειτη [[$\acute{\tau}$]]αταεια·
 κ]αι Καλλιανφσσα·
 Ιαν]ειρα τε· και Ιανασσα·
 εσπ]λόκαμός τ'· Αμαθνια·
] αλος Νηρηϊδες ησαν·
 50 σπε]ος· *αι

fr. 2

55 . . . [. . .]
 αν]εδρ[αμεν
 φ]υτρο[ν
 κ]ορω[νισιν
 . . .]

fr. 3

col. i

col. ii

αντικα τ[εθναιην
 κτεινο[μενωι
 100 εφθιτ'. [ο]]ε[μειο
 νυν δ' επ[ει
 ουδε τι Π[ατροκλωι
 τοις αλλο[ις

αλλ' ήμαι[

73

πεν]θος

105

τοιος εω[ν

εν πολεμ[ωι

ως ερις εκ [

και χολος [

ρος τξ πολ[υ

110

α]νδρων εγ ξ[τηθεσσιν

ως εμε νυν εχολω[σειν

α]λλα τὰ μεν προτετ[υχθαι

θ]υμον ενι στηθεσ[ει

ν]νν δ [ει]μ ρφ[ρα] φ[ιλησ

115

Εκτορα· κη[ρα

Ζευς εθελη[ει

ρυδε γαρ ομ[δε

δ]ς περ φιλητα[τος

αλ]λά ε' μοιρ' ε[δαμασσε

120

ως] και εγωμ [

κει]σομ' επξ[ει

και] τ' [α]να Τρω[ιαδων

αμ]φοτερηι[ειν
 . . .]

fr. 4

.
 αγ]χελ[ο]ν [. . .]
 ποδην]ε[[κ]]ος ωκεα [. . .]
 π]αρακοριτις·
 185 ο]νδε τ[ις] αλλο[ις
 αγαν]νιφογ [αμ]φ[ινεμονται
 πρ]οσεφη π[οδας
] μ[ωλ]ο[ν] ε[ν] χουσι δε τ[ευχε
]φιλη πρίν γ' έια θω[ρησ]ε[σθαι
 190 ελ]θουσαν εν οφθ[α]λλμοις[ιν
 Ηφα]ιστιοιο παρ οϊσέμ[ε]ν εντε[α
 οϊ]δα τεύ αν κλυτα τευχεα δ[ινω
 γ]ε κακος Τελαμωνιαδαο·

fr. 5

.
 φλο]γα παμφαν[οωσαν
 ασ]τεος αιθέρ ικητα[ει
 δη]ϊοι αμφιμαχοντ[ει
 στυγερ]ωι κρινωνται Αρη[ει
 210] ηελιωι καταδυντι [. . .]
 επ]ήτριμοι· υψόςε δ' α[υγη
 περικτ]ιρονεσσιν ιδξ[ει]θαι
 νησι]ν αρεως αλκτη[ρε]ς ἴκωνται [. . .]
 κεφαλ]ης σελασ[ει] αιθξ[ει]κα]γε·
 215 α]πο τειχεος· ουδ' ες Αχαιους [. . .]
]ατερ]ην ωπίξετ' εφεστηγη [. . .]
 απατερθ]ξ δε Παλλας Αθηνη
] εν ασπετον ωρσε κυδομο[ν
] οτε τ' ιαχε καλπξ
 220] δηϊων ὑπο θυμοραϊστων·
 φω]νη γεγετ' Αι[α]κιδαιο·
 οπ]α χαλκεον Αιακιδαιο·
 θυ]μος· αταρ καλλίτριχες ιπποι
 τροπεο]ν· [[τ]]οσροντο γαρ αλγεα θυμωι·

225 εκπλη]γεν επει ἴδον ακαματον πυρ
κεφ]αλης μεγαθυμου Πηλειωνος
] δαίε θεα γλαυκωπις Αθηνη·

fr. 6

col. i
] ποδωκεα Πηλειωνα
] γπέρβιος· ουκ εθελησει
ο]θι περ Τρωες και Αχαιοι
] μενος Αρνος δα[[λ]]εονται·

265

μ]αχηςεται ηδε γυναικων·
]· πίθεσθέ μοι· ωδε γαρ εστα

απεπα]ρσε ποδωκεα Πηλειωνα

αμ]με κιχησεται[ι] ενθαδ' εοντ[ε]·

ορμηθ]εις συν τευχεςιν εϋ νύ τις αυτον

270

απ]αριως γαρ αφίξεται Ιλιον ιρην

π]ολλους δε κυνες και γυνες εδονται

δ]η μοι απ ουατος ωδε γενοιτο·

επε]εσει πιθωμ[εθα κ]ηηδόμενοί περ·

]. [εξομε]ν αστυ δε πυργοι

275

αρα]ρνιαι

ειρνε]ονται·

θωρηχθε]ντε[ς

fr. 7

325 Με]νοιτιον εν [

Οποεντ]α περικλψ[τον

λα]χοντα τε [

] γρηματα π[αντα

] ομοιην χαι[αν

330

επε]ι ουδ έμε νο[ςτησαντα

μεγαροι]κι γερων ιππ[ηλατα

αλλ' αυτου γαια κ[αθεξει

Πατρ]οκλε σευ υστ[ερος

πρ]ιν [γ] Έκτορος ε[νθαδ

295

col. ii
νυν δ' ότε πέρ [

κυδος αρξέσθ' ε[πι

νηπιε· μηξε[τι

ου γάρ τις Τρω[ων

αλλ' αγεθ' ως α[ν

νυν μεν δορ[πον

και φυλακης [

300

Τρωων δ' ός κ[τεατεσσιν

ευλλεξας λαρ[ιαι

των τινα βέλ[τερον

πρωϊ δ' υπηρ[ιοι

νηυςιν επι γ[λαφυρησιν

305

εξ δ' ετεον [γ]ε[

αλγιον αι κ' εθ[ελησιν

φευξομαι εκ π[ολεμοιο

surface abraded

ξυ]νο[ς Ε]νναλ[ιοσ

335

] μεγαθυμου [

προπαροιθ]ε πυρης απο[δ]ε[ιροτομησιν

ς]εθεν κταμε[νοιο

νηυ]ςι κορωνισι κ[εισεαι

Δαρ]δανιδεσ βαθυκ[ολποι

340

] και [ρ]ι[ματα] δακρυ χ[εουσαι

καμομεσθ]α βηιφι τε δουρι τε [

πο]λλ[ε]ις μεροπων αν[θρωπων

fr. 8

col. i

col. ii

fr. 9

375

χρνε]ξα

οφρα ο[ι

ηδ' αυτ[ις

οι δ' ήτ[οι

δαιδά]λα

380

οφρ' ο χ[ε

382

την δε [

καλη· τ[ην

εν τ' αρα [

385

τιπτε Θ[ετι

αιδινη τ[ε

αλλ' έπε[ο

ως αρα φω]νησασα

την μεν [

355

γοωντ]ε[ς

Ηφ[αιστε

τη]ν

ή ρα [

395

η μ[

μητ]ρος

κρνηψ]αι

ει μη μ[

Ευ]ρυν[ομη

400

τῆ]σι πα[ρ

πορπας τ[ε

εν σπη]ι γ[λαφυρωι

[[ο] φρ[α]ι] μο[ρμυρων

ηιδειν ου]τε

405

αλλα Θε]τις [

η νυν ημετ]ερον

παντα Θε]τι κ[αλλιπλοκαμου

αλλα ου μεν [

34 Άρίσταρχος άπαμήσειε schol. A T (άπομήσειε T): ita T V¹⁴: άπομήσειε cet.

35 Stop perhaps by the first hand.

40 Final stop perhaps by the first hand.

41 Δ[.]: to the right of the hole either a deleting dot or part of a line deleting a letter. Perhaps an ε was deleted. Traces not compatible with the variant Πρυμνώρεα.

42 was omitted probably because it occurs in a long list of names; the preceding line also begins with κ.

43]τϵ: two high specks of ink before τ part of acute accent? High stop after ϵ? Final stop by the first hand.

48 First accent on |λόκαμος and final stop by the first hand. ἀμάθια codd. plerique: ἀμάθεια codd. plures, Eu.

55 Feet only: possibly *va* of *υἰὸν ἀμίμουνα*.

73 After |θoc perhaps a stop by the first hand.

100 The first hand has deleted *o* by a diagonal line and added an apostrophe; dot over *o* also by the first hand, probably a stop rather than a deleting dot.

101 Apostrophe by the first hand.

104 Asper and apostrophe both by the first hand.

116 η]: left vertical visible; not part of curved letter.

118 Lectional signs by the first hand.

119 μοίρ' ἔδ. codd. plerique: μοίρα δάμασσε P⁹ codd. plur.

188]μ[and]ο[are uncertain.

189 ρ[rather than ρ] because insufficient space for [ρρρρ].

191 οἰέμ[ε]ν: accent could be by the first or second hand.

192 Form of accent anomalous.

207 Possibly part of apostrophe between αὐθέρ and ἰκρητ[ι].

208 ἀμφιμάχονται codd. plerique: -ονται B Bm⁵ L⁹ L¹⁷ T.

209 κρινονται codd. plur.: -ονται vulg.

213 ἄρεω P. Mich. Priest 31 vulg. (τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων Eu.): ἄρεω Ar. Schol. A T Eu.: ἄρεος codd. plur. Eu.: ἄρηος M¹⁰ W⁴.

215 τευχος: *i* seems to be superimposed on the oblique of a χ.

216 Did the scribe's eye stray from the π of πικυήν to that of ἀπάτερθε in 217; or is this part of a variant reading κρ]ατερην?

219 αλπίε: for the loss of nasals before stops see Mayser i² 1. 164 and Gignac i 116.

220 ηῖα: only right half of trema visible.

222 Probably two final stops, middle by the first hand, low stop by the second. χαλκεον: so P. Mich. Priest

31 vulg.: χαλκένν Zen. Schol. A. Αιακίδαο: so also P. Mich. Priest 31 vulg.: αὐθέρωτος P. Mich. Priest 31 ss. V¹ γρ. P⁸: τοῖο ἀνακτος N⁴ss.

264, 265 Doubtful whether final stops by first hand or second.

269 τευχος: *c* corr. from *e* by first hand.

274] .]: *c* or *e* acceptable.

298 If the diagonal mark put in the margin by the second hand is stichometrical and is meant to indicate 300, it is in the wrong place, for it comes at 298 according to modern enumeration and at what, if there are regularly 32 lines to a column, is 294 of this papyrus. Miscounts, however, were common (see K. Ohly, *Stichometrische Untersuchungen* 90 ff.). Or it may indicate something that has received or requires marginal comment, see 3662 10 note.

301 ευλλεξας: l. συλλεξας; *c* confused with *e* as in 269 but here uncorrected.

303 ς] better than φ] ? Only half the circumflex is visible.

305 The grave accent employed here and in 326 and 330 on the penultimate syllable is the usual method in the papyri of indicating oxytone words within the sentence (see J. Moore-Blunt, *Quad. Urb.* 29 (1978) 140-1 and C. M. Mazzucchi, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 146-7).

]γϵ]: ἐρεὼν γϵ is a common locution in Homer.

340]β]ματα: probably a visual error caused by copying from an exemplar in a quick everyday hand; an h-shaped η was perhaps read as ρ and *i* linked together.

341 βνηφι: l. βτηφι.

342 πόλις V¹: πόλιεις vulg.

380 An ink mark (shaped like the top and right side of a small square) in the margin between 380 and 382, probably by the first hand, to indicate the omitted line. 381 om. P¹¹ P. Mich. Priest 31 codd. plures (cf. M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* ii 514 f., who thinks the omission goes back to Aristarchus), add. A mg. cum ἐν ἄλλω και ὄστος εἰρήθη ἀπέτραπτο δέ, def. paraphr. M¹¹.

384 The paragraph separates the narrative verse from the following speech.

394 ρα]: accent over α?

395 η: asper over η?

404 οὔτως ἦδεν. γράφεται δὲ καὶ "ἦδεν" schol. A.

3664. ISOCRATES, *Panegyricus* 14-15

60/21 (a)

10.7 × 15.9 cm

Third century

This text, together with the following, brings the total of papyri of the *Panegyricus* so far known to fourteen. The other twelve are P. Mich. inv. 3755 published by T. Renner, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 21-7 and eleven listed by him (*ibid.* 24 n. 25, 27). P. Oslo III 71 and the Michigan papyrus cover the same sections of text as the present piece.

The scribe wrote a flowing and stylish 'severe' style hand of medium size. Alpha is narrow and angular but delta broad. Iota, rho, tau, and upsilon have elegant, slightly flourished descenders, some with small finials. Epsilon, theta, omicron, and sigma are narrow, omega broad with a flat base. The hand is to be assigned to the third century, and perhaps to the middle of that century. XXVII 2458 (E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, pl. 32), assigned to the third century, is similar but more rapidly written. Compare also VII 1015 (*ibid.*, pl. 50), assigned to the middle-late third century, a more flourished and idiosyncratic example. II 223 (C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 21a) of the early part of that century is more flamboyant.

The text is carefully written and well laid out; the intercolumnium is *c.* 1.5 cm and the upper margin at least 3.3 cm. The original scribe has used a dipole obelismene below ii 2 to mark the end of a section (actually the end of a paragraph in the Budé edition) and a simple paragraphus to denote a shorter pause below ii 4 and in col. iii. (See E. G. Turner, *ibid.* 10, 14-15.) He has also added a high stop in ii 4 at the time of writing the text. The stop in ii 2 may be by the same hand but has clearly been inserted subsequently. The heavy points in ii 3, 16, and 17 are later additions. There are no tremata, breathings, accents, or iotas adscript.

Unlike the following, this papyrus generally agrees with *Γ*. For the relationship of the papyri to MSS of Isocrates see the bibliography given by Renner, *ibid.* 22 and n. 21, but especially F. Seck, *Untersuchungen zum Isokratetext* (Diss. Hamburg 1965) 17-23. As T. Luzzatto, *ASNP*, 3rd ser., 2 (1972) 507 n. 4 points out, Seck denies the existence in antiquity of the two branches of the tradition, *Γ* and *ΘΑ*, but mentions IX 1183, which has thirteen agreements with *Α* and only one with *Γ* and so would seem to contradict his own statement. If the present text were longer, it might more clearly be seen to represent the other branch.

The literary text is on the back of a document, consisting of part of one column and the left of a second of what is apparently an account with small amounts in drachmas and obols entered opposite personal names.

Collated with G. Mathieu and E. Brémond's Budé edition (1938).

col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	λας ποιουμαι τ[α]υ[τ]ο[υ] υπο[σ]τ[η]χ[ι]ε	
].	σει· περι μεν ο[υ]ν τ[η]ων [
	ιδιω[ν]. ταυτα μο[ρ]ι προ[ξ]ειρη	
	σθω· περι δε τω[ν] κ[α]ι[ν]ων	15
5	οοι μεν ευθυ[σ] επ[ε]λθον	. [
	τες διδασκουσιν ω[σ] χρη	
	διαλυσαμενους τας προσ	
	ημας αυτου[σ] εχθρασ προσ	
	τον βαρβαρον τραπεσθαι·	
10	και διεξερχονται τας τε	. [
	συμφορας τ[α]υ[τ]ο[υ] εκ του πολε	. [
	μου τρου προς αλληλους η	
	μην γεγενημενας και	
	τας [ω]φελιασ τας εκ της	
15	στρατιασ της επ[ε] εκεινον [
	εσομ[ε]νασ. αληθη με[ν]	
	λεχ[ου]σιν· ου μνην εντ[ε]ν	
	θε[ν] πο[ρ]ιουνται τ[η]ν	
	οθε[ν] αν μ[α]λιστα	
20	]τα[υ]τ[α]	

col. i. 2]: right end of a horizontal.

col. ii. 1-2 ποιουμαι τ[α]υ[τ]ο[υ] υπο[σ]τ[η]χ[ι]εσει: P. Mich. inv. 3755 *Γ*: τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ποιούμεαι vulg.

8 προσ: επί P. Mich. inv. 3755 codd.: πρόσ repeated in error after previous πρόσ.

14 [ω]φελιασ: P. Mich. inv. 3755: ὠφελίας codd. Whether due to itacism or not, alternation between the two spellings is frequent in MSS of classical authors; see Renner, op. cit. 26.

15 στρατιασ: *ΕΓ* corr.: στρατείασ P. Oslo III 71 P. Mich. inv. 3755 *Γ*. Both στρατιά and στρατεία can mean 'campaign' as required here; see again Renner, op. cit. 26.

16 σ.: large stop has subsequently been placed almost below σ.

18 θε[ν] πο[ρ]ιουνται: P. Oslo III 71 *Γ E*. Lacuna does not allow for vulg. ἐντεθέν γε.

20]τα[υ]τ[α]: high horizontal and top of a pointed letter; average line-length of c. 20 letters indicates that this is the second τα of ταῦτα.

col. iii. 10 . [: paragraphus below the foot of a vertical better than β.

3665. ISOCRATES, *Panegyricus* 106-12

39 5B. 117/C(1-3)c

20.1 × 24.6 cm

Third century

A papyrus codex leaf containing on the → side §§ 106-8 and on the ↓ side §§ 109-12 of the *Panegyricus*. Part of the text coincides with V 844. For other texts of this speech see the introduction to 3664.

On the assumption that the fairly straight break down the left side of →, i.e. the right side of ↓, has occurred at the central fold of the sheet, and that the opposite extremity approximates to the original fore-edge, 20.1 cm is more or less the original width of the leaf. Since there is sufficient blank papyrus below ↓ 30 to show that this is the last line of the page, the height of the written area of c. 21 cm + 3 cm for the upper margin and an estimated 4.5 cm for the lower make a total height for the leaf of c. 28.5 cm. (For the approximate 3:2 ratio of lower to upper margins, see E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 8 and 25.) Such dimensions place this leaf among the aberrants of E. G. Turner's Group 3 of papyrus codices (ibid. 15-16). The written area is approximately 14.5 × 21 cm. From 30 lines whose length is reasonably certain it can be calculated that an average line has about 32 letters. 418 letters of the standard text are missing between the probable end of → 17 and the beginning of ↓ 1 so that 13 lines are lost in the lower half of →. Both pages consequently contained 30 lines. On an average of 979 letters a page the earlier part of the text occupied c. 32½ pages. Since §§ 106-8 are on a right-hand page, the text must have started on a left-hand page with the remaining ½ page containing a title. Presumably the text of the codex did not begin on a left-hand page and so had another speech preceding.

The ink is grey in colour, and frequently so faded that letters and traces are often identifiable only with the aid of infra-red photographs, which also render secure letters which would otherwise have to remain dotted. As far as one can tell the scribe has added no breathings, accents, or punctuation but he has used tremata over initial epsilon in ↓ 6 and 12 and a diastole to mark elision in ↓ 14. In → 11 final nu at the line-end is denoted by a high horizontal stroke. A second hand has made corrections and additions in a darker ink.

The text itself is a poor one. It suffers from a serious omission in → 13, superfluous additions in → 2-3 and 13, and minor variants of its own, of which some are clear errors and others, such as the placing of ἡμεῖν in → 7 and τοιαύτην rather than τοσαύτην in ↓ 5, are not improvements. → 13 supplies an interesting new variant, τριπλασίας, but one whose value is questionable in view of the obvious errors elsewhere. The papyrus shows no decided preference for the readings of *Γ* or of the vulg. (See the introduction to 3664.) In three cases it is in agreement with the vulg. against *Γ* and in two with *Γ* against the vulg. Though the papyrus reading is garbled in ↓ 8, it clearly corroborates *Γ*, *Δ*, and the vulg. against the reading of *E* adopted by Benseler-Blass and the Budé edition.

The hand is a plain, unadorned example of the 'severe' style, sloping to the right

- π[: small low trace; on comparison with τὸν π in 9, spacing exactly fits foot of right hasta of π.
 13 Addition by 2nd hand. ν[: extended right hasta touches ω in 12, cf. ν of ἀρχήν. Interlinear insertion no doubt continued, καὶ κεκτρημένοι Γ or κεκτρημένοι δέ vulg., a total of 27 or 28 letters omitted by the 1st hand—perhaps a whole line of the exemplar.
 δε: om. codd. τρηγλασία[: διαλασίας codd.
 13 14 -λοι: σύμφωνατες οἱ ἄλλοι vulg., ἄλλοι σύμφωνατες E σύμφωνατες Γ.
 15 υπο|κ[ε]ι|μενης της Γ: υποκειμένης δέ E vulg. After της exiguous remains of most letters but reasonable certainty of β and η allows others to be deduced from spacing.
 17 ff. Ink from 18 to perhaps 23.
 ↓ 3]πγ, either feet of 2 verticals of π and top of α or foot of right vertical of π and top and foot of left oblique of α.
 πας: πάντας codd. Syllable omitted in error.
 5 τοιαντήν: τοσαύτην codd.
 7 π[: right vertical; though papyrus warped, probably too far left for ε.
 πολίωσιν: πολῖων Γ.
 8 δ[ε]καδραχμῶν: above and between ρ and χ apparently a vertical but its significance is quite unclear. με, reasonably certain; space requires more than ι or ε, and so the pap.'s reading is as if from the non-existent δεκαδραχμία: δεκαδραχμῶν Γ Δ vulg.: δεκαρχῶν E Vict.
 9 διαλυμ[?]ναμ[?]νοι: deletion and correction in blacker ink but could be by 1st hand; not and of → 11 and 13. διαλυμνήσμενοι Γ E Vict.: λυμ- vulg. but cf. Benseler-Blass, who attribute the former to vulg. without giving a reading for Γ.
 11] . . .[: top of vertical + mid trace to right, low ink, part of high or mid horizontal: ρογ?
 12 αριτε. What appears to be cross-bar of τ extending long way to left must be part of right oblique of υ; sufficient room between α and τ for υ, although rest of letter effaced (l. αθθις).
 14 δ' : diastole added by 1st hand; then high and low ink: deleted ε?
 15 ε[: high ink; space between λ and ω so great that ε must have been written for ι (l. Μηλίων).
 16 υ[: right oblique may possibly run into horizontal of τ.
 19]ν: trace of preceding ο possible.
 ο: οἱ codd., rightly.
 20] . . .[: negligible traces.] . [, vertical.] . [, high ink.
 22 ε: letter preceding δ sufficiently curved to show that it cannot be ι of ἐνί and that vertical preceding is therefore ι and not right of ν. ἐνίσις E vulg.: ἐνί V 844 Γ.
 23] .[: spacing suggests β; ink not incompatible.
 24] .: low ink; because fibres split, not certain whether part of preceding letter or of one before that.]α: though below] . [in 23, where only three letters lost, smaller width of letters required in lacuna in 24 indicates that α is that of καὶ and not of -χειρας.
 25]ν, fibres again split but probably foot of left vertical of ν.
 26 Before ν low ink; foot of left hasta much more likely than part of α.] . [, low ink: ε?
 27] . [, high ink.
 28]π, ink to left on separate fibre; probably cross-bar of τ rather than part of α.
 29 συμ]εν[θήγοντας: V 844 Γ² Vict.: συμπεθ- Γ¹: συμπαθ- E vulg.

3666. PLATO, Alcibiades I 113 B AND 132 A-B

Fr. 1 18 2B. 66/F(9-10)a
Fr. 2 and 3 18 2B. 64/D(7)c

5 × 5.1 cm

Later second century

Although upsilons are slightly different, there can be little doubt that these three papyrus fragments belong to the same roll as P. Harris 12, which was identified as part of *Alcibiades I* by P. Maas (see B. Snell, *Gnomon* 13 (1937) 578-9). They are the only

fragments of this work to have come to light so far, although part of a commentary on, or paraphrase of, *Alcibiades I* 133 c and 133 d, or part of a work referring to Alcibiades, has been published by B. H. Kraut in *ZPE* 51 (1983) 75-9.

Since P. Harr. 12 has now been identified, it can be calculated that with an average line-length of just under 14 letters, 14 lines have been lost at the bottom of col. i and 4 at the bottom of ii, and that these were probably cols. xiii and xiv respectively of the roll. By the time 3666 fr. 1 is reached the average number of letters per line has increased to just under 19 and in fr. 2 and 3 to about 20. No doubt the scribe feared he would run out of space and became less generous in spacing his letters. This makes it difficult to determine the precise positions of the three fragments. The first, from the top of a column, contains 113 B and is probably separated from P. Harr. 12 ii by ten columns, i.e. it belongs to col. xxv. Fr. 2, containing 132 A-B, is from the central part of a column with a few traces from the succeeding column; fr. 3, also containing part of 132 B, is the top of fr. 2 ii. Thirteen lines are lost at the foot of fr. 2 i and probably 13 lines between the end of fr. 3 and δ[in fr. 2 ii 5 (see n.). Depending on the rate of increase in line-length, 34 to 38 columns are missing between fr. 1 and 2, so that the latter may represent somewhere between cols. lx-lxi and lxiv-lxv. Perhaps six columns have been lost after fr. 3, making a roll of some 67-71 columns.

The intercolumnia in both the Harris piece and 3666 are c. 1.6 cm and the written height in both c. 18 cm. In the former the upper margin is preserved to a height of 5.5 cm but in our text more has broken away, fr. 1 having only 2.5 cm left, fr. 3 3.1 cm. The shape of double points and paragraphs for change of speaker and of the line-fillers is again the same. The double paragraphs in P. Harr. 12 below lines where there are two changes of speaker are uncommon; the present text is unfortunately broken at the places where they should occur.

Snell (*loc. cit.*) comments that the text of the Harris papyrus is good and confirms the readings of B. The new fragments do not substantially alter this view (but cf. fr. 1. 3-4 and fr. 2 i 3-4). At fr. 3. 4, however, where B is clearly wrong, the papyrus has the right reading given by Stobaeus. The text is collated with that of A. Carlini (Turin, 1964).

fr. 1 μαι μεν ω ζωκ[ρατες εκ των 113B
 ωμολογημεω[ν εγω: ου
 κουν ελε[χθη περι δι
 καιων κα[ι αδικων οτι Αλκι
 5 βιαδης ο [καλος ο Κλεινι
 ου . [

fr. 3 μη τουτου ζφαλεντες λαθω 132 B
 μεν ετερου τινος επιμελου
 μενοι αλλ ουχ ημων: εστι
 ταυτα:] και μετα τουτο δη ρ

fr. 2 col. i col. ii

του]το γαρ 132A
 δη μαλιστα εγω φοβου]μαι
 μη δημεραστης ημιν γεν]ομε
 νος διαφθαρης] πολλοι
 5 γαρ ηδη και αγαθοι αυτο] πεπον
 θασιν Αθηραιων ευπ]ροσω
 πος γαρ ο του μεγαλητορ]ος δη
 μος Ερεχθεις αλλ αποδ]υντα
 χρη αυτον θεασασθαι ε]υλα
 10 βου ον την ευλαβειαν] ην ε
 γω λεγω: τινα: γυμν]ασαι
 13 lines lost

[
 [
 . [
 . [
 . [
 5 δ [
 κ [
 π [
 [
 .

fr. 1
 1 μέν om. Oll.
 3-4 περί δικαίων και ἀδικῶν δτι B C D: δτι περί δικαίων και ἀδικῶν P T W: δτι περί δικαίων Oll. There is no way of being certain whether the papyrus had the reading of B C D or that of P T W, but if it had the latter, the line-lengths would be more even, i.e. 19 in l. 3 and 18 in l. 4 rather than 16 and 21 respectively.
 6 ου is clear but the spacing of letters in l. 5 suggests Κλειν]ου ρ[ου rather than Κλεινιου] | ου ε[πιτατο.
 fr. 2
 col. i 3-4 ἡμῶν γενόμενος B C D: γενόμενος ἡμῶν P T W. Since the supplement in l. 4 seems a little short at 12 letters, the papyrus may have had the latter reading.
 7-8 δῆμος Ἐρεχθέως codd.: Ἐρεχθέως δῆμος Maximus Tyrius, Plotinus.
 8 ἀποδύντα codd.: ἀποδίσαντα Athenaeus.
 fr. 3
 2-3 ἐπιμελου]μενοι: ἐπιμελόμενοι codd. The scribe has used the more common contracted form of the verb, which except in three other places is the normal Platonic usage.
 4 δῆ ρ[τι: so Stobaeus: δέ δτι P T W: ἡδη B C D.
 fr. 2
 col. ii. 1-4 Only indistinguishable traces.
 5-7 Probably 132 C-D δ[ιανοομενος λεγει ω Cω]κ[ρατες: εγω σοι φρασω ο γε υ]π[οπτειω . . . π in l. 7 could also be the γ of γε. This is the only combination of δ, κ, and π or γ to fit at approximately the right distance from fr. 3. 4. Since the average line-length here is just over 20 letters, the 258 letters lost would be expected to occupy 13 lines; the whole column would then have only 34 lines, but this might be accounted for by wider spacing of the lines in the upper part.

3667. [PLATO], Alcibiades II 142 B-143 C

73/90(d)

fr. 1 5 × 7.5 cm

Third century

Two fragments from a book-roll (the back is blank). Each has remains of two columns, with an intercolumnium of c. 1.5 cm; fr. 2 has a preserved lower margin of 4.5 cm. The content makes it possible to calculate that fr. 1 came from near the head of the same columns of which fr. 2 provides the foot. The column was of 33-4 lines, with a height of c. 22.5 cm; the lines had 25 letters on average, with a width of c. 10 cm. A kollesis is clearly visible: on fr. 1 about 0.5 cm to the left of col. ii; on fr. 2 just after the first two letters of the lines in col. ii (the verso shows an overlap of 2-2.5 cm).

The writing is a right-sloping book-hand, not rigorously bilinear (λ ξ ρ υ τ project below the base-line, β above and below). The letters are written separately, but cursive tendencies are not lacking in the ductus (e.g. of υ and ν). The hand may be assigned to the third century. Change of speaker is marked by paragraphus (ii 29); initial iota and hypsilon are set off by diaeresis (ii 7, 30).

3667 is the first papyrus to contain parts of *Alcibiades II*. Although the dialogue *περὶ εὐχῆς* is certainly spurious and indeed late (it has been attributed with reason to the Academy of Arcesilaus),¹ it appears firmly incorporated in the fourth tetralogy even in the earliest evidence relating to the *Corpus Platonicum* (DL 3. 56 ff.). The papyrus offers no textual novelties as against the medieval MSS, but confirms the antiquity of the reading *τυγχάνει* at 143 B 6 (ii 32), which many editors from Stephanus on have altered to *τυγχάνοι*.

The text has been supplemented from the edition of Burnet; but account has been taken of the apparatus in the editions of Souilhé (Paris 1930) and Carlini (Turin 1964).

	col. i		col. ii
(fr. 1)	3 lines lost		3 lines lost
	τ]ξικνω 142 B		. . . [ο]β[αν αυτους και πραττον 142 B
5	ολον τον βιον λυπομενοι διη]γα γον τους δε χρηστων μεν γενο]με		5 τας κα[ι ευχομενοι απερ ου βελ τξιον η[ν εκεινους δε εδοκει κωνη υ]περ απαντων αυτων ευ χην πο[ιησασθαι λεγει δε πως η δ]ε Ζευ β[ασιλευ τα μεν εκθλα φηει 143 A
			10 κ]αι ευ[χομενοι και ανευκτοι . . . μι δ[ιδου
	22 lines lost		12 lines lost

¹ Cf. E. Bickel, 'Ein Dialog aus der Akademie des Arcesilas', *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.* 17 (1904) 460 ff.; A. Carlini, 'Alcuni dialoghi pseudoplatonici e l'Accademia di Arcesilaos', *Annali d. Scuola Norm.*, ser. 2, 31 (1962) 33 ff.

(fr. 2)

25 θει]η αλλά το[υτο γε πας αν οιοιτο ικα
 ν]ος ειναι α[υτος αντωι τα βελτι
 ς]τα ευξασθ[αι αλλ ου τα κακιςτα του
 τ]ο μεν γαρ [ως αληθως καταραι τι
 αιτιω]ν D
 30 ται εξ εκειων φαμενοι κα]κα
 ς]φικω ειναι οι δε και αυτοι ς]φ]η
 κω ειτε ατασθαλιακω ειτε αφ]ρο
 κω αις χρη ειπειν υπερ μορο]ν

col. i. 1 The papyrus is damaged just above the letters: perhaps the final ν was represented by a horizontal stroke above the ω.

30 Of κ nothing remains but the tip of the upper branch. Although so little survives, the placing of 29 ff. is secure; calculation of the line-lengths excludes the other possibility, that 32]ρο represents 142 E 1 φρόνμος.

31 A later hand in T and Ven. 186 (whence Ven. 184) has corrected the text of the Homeric quotation (*Od.* 1. 32-4), which in the primary sources appears in various corrupt forms: *αἰτοῖς φηκῶν* B pr. C, D, *αἰτοῖς φήκων* T.]η in the papyrus shows in any case that it did not share T's error.

32-3 The reading of the papyrus cannot be reconstructed with certainty (the medieval tradition divides between *ἀφροσύκω* T and *ἀφροσύκω* B C D). But it gives no support to Hermann's conjecture *ἀφραδύκω*.

33 The nu is represented by an upright, with a trace of a descending oblique cutting it near the base. There is no trace of ink below; so that this should be the last line of the column, although it stands rather higher than the last line of col. ii.

col. ii. 4 The probable ρ would lead us to reconstruct the beginning as *φορ* [ο]ρ[ων (line of 23 letters). But the initial traces are very uncertain.

6 The cross-bar of the initial tau is clear; the space requires the spelling *βελ]τττω* (with the omicron reduced to a circular blot, as in 31 *εμου*).

7 The spacing shows that the papyrus did not share the omission of *αὐτῶν* evidenced by Proclus (*In Remp.* 187. 26-188. 8 K.).

9 The first letter is lost, the second vestigial; the spacing allows δ]ι. The papyrus certainly did not share the unique variant *Ζεὺ Κρονιδῆ* found in Orion, *Anthologn.* 5. 17 (Meineke, *Stobaei Flor.* iv 257).

11 At the beginning we expect *αμμι*, but the trace and the space both make difficulties (the initial alpha would have had to project a long way into the margin). Perhaps the scribe had problems with the epic form?

25-6 *ικανός εἶναι* is omitted by Priscian (*Inst.* 18. 99, ii 252 H.). *ικανός* is the reading (correct) also of B C: *ικανός* D T.

32 Above χ a trace like the foot of a grave accent (apparently not the remains of ν, or of a diastole). The papyrus agrees with all MSS in reading *τυγχάνει*. Stephanus corrected it to *τυγχάνοι*; editors have generally accepted this, but C. Fr. Wex (*Commentatio de loco mathematico in Platonis Menone. Adiectae sunt in Platonis atque Sophoclis quaedam dicta symbolae criticae*, Halle 1825, 45) had already defended the transmitted reading with the argument that *δε τυγχάνει* does not constitute the protasis of the sentence.

33]ρ represented only by a high point of ink. It is better to take it so than as a high stop, which would hardly be expected here.

3668. [PLATO], *Epistle* 2. 310 E-311 A

A9/150E

4.4 × 6.5 cm

Second century

The papyrus preserves its top margin and ten lines from the second Platonic epistle. It is the first example of a Platonic epistle to be found on papyrus. The text is unremarkable and without variants, but is seven hundred years older than the medieval manuscript A. It adds nothing to the discussion of the genuineness of the letter, since the letter is already included in the canon of Thrasyllus of the first century AD. Diogenes Laertius 3. 62 shows that the thirteen letters in Thrasyllus' canon were identical with the present collection. In the second century AD *Epistle* 2. 314 G is quoted by Aelius Aristides ii 373. 8 D. = 3. 587 (i 488) Lenz-Behr, Galen (x 465. 10 Kühn), and Athenaeus 15. 702 C. In the third century AD Plotinus quotes *Epistle* 2. 312 E at *Ennead* 1. 8. 2.

The writing is an example of the 'Formal Mixed Style' (E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* 26). It inclines slightly to the right and closely resembles XLVIII 3376. The hand is 3 mm high and largely bilinear with the feet of rho, tau, and hypsilon projecting below the line. There are no breathings or accents, but an apostrophe is used to separate syllables in *ανθ]ρω'πρι* l. 1 (Turner, op. cit. 13) and a diaeresis (inorganic) to mark an initial vowel in *ιδ]ιακ* l. 4 (Turner, op. cit. 12). A middle point occurs in l. 3 and a high point in l. 6. The top margin is 2.2. cm high. The back is blank.

The supplements are taken from the Oxford text, v, ed. J. Burnet, 1907, and the Budé edition, xiii. 1, ed. J. Souilhé, 1926.

ανθ]ρω'πρι χαιρομς[ω πε
 ρι] τουτων αυτοι τε δ[ια
 λε]χομενοι και αλλω]ν
 α]κουοντες εν τε ιδ]ιακ
 5 ς]ινουσκω και εν [ταις
 πο]ιησεσιν· οιοι [και πε 311 A
 ρι Ιε]ρωνος οταν δ[ιαλε
 γ]ωγται ανθρωπ[οι και
 Πα]γσανιου του Δ[ακε
 10 δαι]μον[ιου] χ[αιρουσι

7-8 δ[ιαλε]γ[ωγται] pap. A L O: διαλέγονται Z

3669. PLATO, *Gorgias* 491 B, 495 C-E

ADDENDUM TO 3156

68 6B.23/B(1-2)a

Fr. 1 7.5 × 9.5 cm.

Second century

Two more scraps from the same roll as XLIV 3156. One continues the column represented by 3156 fr. 1, the other has remains of the two columns directly succeeding 3156 fr. 2 ii. On the script see 3156, XLVII 3326, L 3550, introductions.

Surprisingly in view of its scanty extent, 3669 presents two new readings each worthy of consideration: apparent absence of μέν at 1. 28 (491 B), τι for τινα at 2 i 1 (495 C). There is an agreement with F (and, oddly, P) against B T W, possibly but not certainly in error (2 ii 2), and one with B T W against F, but in truth (1. 15).

On the back are sparse and much damaged remains of some kind of account, cf. 3156 introduction.

Fr. 1

Fr. 2

col. ii

Continuation of 3156 fr. 1

col. i

15 --- οντι;ν αν 491 B
 τρο]πον εν [οικου]το>
 και] μη μ[ονο]ν [φ]ρο
 νι]μοι αλ[λα και α]νδ<
 ρε]ιοι ἰκαροῖ οντες
 20 α]ν νοησασιν εφῃ
 τελει]ν και μη απο
 κα]μμωσι δια μαλα
 κι]αν της ψυχης:
 οραι]ς ω βελτιςτε κα[λ]
 25 λικ]λεις ως ου ταν[
 τα σ]ν τς εμου κ[ατ]η
 γορει]ς και εγω σου
 κυ γα]ρ εμς φης [αι

ελεγε]ς τι ειμαι 495 C
 μετα επιστ]ημης:
 ελεγον γαρ:] αλλ' ὅτι
 ουν ως ετ]ερον την
 5 ανδρειαν τ]η[ς ε]πι
 στημης δυο ταυ]τα
 ελεγε]ς: σφοδρ]α γε:
 τι δε: ηδουνη κ]αι
 επιστημην τα]ν
 10 τον η ετερον: ετ]ε

ομ]ολ[ογει ομαι 495 E
 δ[ε] ονδς K[αλλικλη]ς
 οταν αν[τος αυτου
 θεασητ]αι ορθως
 5 ειπε γαρ μ[οι τους ευ
 πραττο]ν[τας τοις
 κακως π[ραττου
 σιν ου του]ναντι
 ον ἡγ[ε]ι π[αθος πε
 10 προνθε]να: εγωγε:
 αρ]ο]ν ειπ[ερ εναν
 τια ε]στιν [ταυτα

fr. 1

The line numeration continues that of 3156 fr. 1.

15 ὄντιν ἄν: ὄντινα ἄν, ἄν om. F.

20 ἄν seems to fit the space better than ἄ ἄν.

28 cὐ γὰρ]: cὐ μὲν γὰρ codd.

fr. 2

col. i. 1 ελεγε]ς τι εἶναι: ελεγε]ς τινα εἶναι codd. Though it could be argued that the attraction to ἀνδρειαν is original, rather than a fault of the tradition (cf. ἀνδρειαν ἐτερον (ετερον P) ἡδονης at D 2 below), τι might be thought preferable as giving a form of question more on a par with the previous one (ἐπιστήμην που καλεῖς τι;) and better comporting with the next. With τινα, cf. W's ταύτας for ταῦτα just below (C 7).

3 ελεγον—(5) ἐπιστήμης om. F (suppl. in marg. f).

Whatever the diacritics are meant to imply (ἀλλ' ὄντιόν?), the correct articulation must be the received ἄλλο τι ὄν. The idiomatic use of ἄλλο τι doubtless caused difficulty.

4 ἐτ]ερον with codd. (F missing here, by homocoteleuton): ἐτερον <ὄν> Heindorf, not confuted.

την: the right hasta of eta does double duty as the left hasta of nu.

6 ταῦ]τα: ταύτας W.

9-10 Restoration uncertain.

col. ii. 2 δ[ε] with P F: δέ γε B T W f. While Dodds accepts it, the additional particle is not so obviously right here as it is in the line above (Cωκράτης δέ γε κτλ.), whence it may have come.

P's defection from the B T W family here is exceptional (see Dodds 40 f.); perhaps an accidental omission independent of F?

9 ἡγ[ε]ι: ἡγή codd. (at least, ἡγεῖ is not reported). In the papyrus η is not excluded as a reading alternative to [ε]ι, but cf. 3156 1. 6, 2 i 3.

3670. PLATO, *Hippias Major* 291 D-E

73/9(b)

fr. 1 5 × 8.2 cm

Second/third century

Two fragments from a book-roll (the back is blank); the content shows them to belong to consecutive columns. Fr. 1 preserves the bottom right-hand corner of a column, with a much-damaged lower margin of 5 cm and a surviving intercolumnium of 1.1 cm. The scribe took pains to justify the line-ends by adding small space-fillers (2, 4). The line-spacing is fairly generous (0.3 cm); but the last line stands much closer to the one above (0.1 cm), perhaps from a need to preserve the horizontal alignment of the column-feet. Fr. 2 is mutilated on all sides, and badly rubbed.

The writing is a small square book-hand, with a slight slope to the right and a tendency to the bilinear (ρ and υ reach below the line, φ above and below; no example of ψ). We may usefully compare e.g. V 843 (Plato, *Symposium*) and XX 2256 (for a description of the style, cf. *GMAW* no. 25): these parallels suggest a date at the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. There is no sign of a kollesis.

Iota is adscript (fr. 1. 1, 2. 6). Lectional signs: diaeresis on initial upsilon (fr. 1. 5), elision mark (fr. 2. 3). εἰνατοῦ in the uncontracted form, fr. 1. 2.

This is the first papyrus of the *Hippias Major* to come to light. Fr. 2 offers two variants as against the medieval tradition (T F W; B is missing): in 3 γ' added after ο]σον, in 6 the remains can be reconstructed as αλλα δ]η γγν νων instead of MSS ἀλλ' ἡμῶν δὴ νῦν. In the first case, the medieval text seems unassailable; but in the second the dual form deserves consideration.

fr. 1 (col. i)

fr. 2 (col. ii)

5 lines lost

Ηρα]γ ἀγαμ[αι σου οτι
 μ]οι δοκεis ευνοη[κως
 καθ ο]νον γ' οιος τ ει β[οη
 θειν] αλλ[α] γαρ του [αν
 5 δρος ο]ν τυγχανομ[εν
 αλλα δ]η γγγ νων κ[αι
 πλει]στον καταχελ[ασε
 ται πρηνηρογ [γ ω
 10 ̄ωκ]ρατες χελωτα [οταν
 γ]αρ προς ταυτα [εχη
 μεν μηδε]ν οτι [

] αφικομενω 291 D

εις γ]ηρας τους εαυτου>

γον]εας τελευτησαν

τας κ]αλως περιστει> E

5 λαντ]ι ὑπο των αυτου

εκγον]ων καλως και

fr. 2

3 The text of the medieval MSS (*καθ' ὅσον οἶός τ' ἐστὶ*) has precise parallels e.g. in *Lach.* 179 A 8, *Resp.* 274 A 6 (but cf. also *Soph.* 248 E 3, *Symp.* 248 E 8, *Prot.* 351 C 6, *Gorg.* 476 B 2). *καθ ο]νον γ'* in the papyrus is partly reconstruction, but I see no other possibility: *δσον γε* in a different context, e.g. *Theaet.* 145 A 4.

6 The papyrus on the one hand supports the text of T F (W remains isolated with the transposition *νὸν δῆ*), on the other diverges from the whole medieval tradition by offering the form *νὸν* instead of *ἡμῶν*, and after *δῆ νὸν*, not before it. The genitive dual occurs at *Theaet.* 144 C 1. The version of the papyrus, with its different word-order, puts particular emphasis on *νὸν*: 'Indeed, now more than ever he will laugh at the two of us . . .'. There is no reason to think that the dual form derives from an Atticist revision of the Platonic text.

3671. PLATO, *Laches* 179 B-C

73/90(a)

7 × 8 cm

Late second century

The top of a column from a book-roll (the back is blank). The strip of upper margin which survives measures 1 cm; the intercolumnium to the left (preserved only at the level of ll. 8-16) probably divided this column from the first column of the *Laches* (which would then have had 52-3 lines; this is quite possible, given the close spacing of the

lines). Of course there is no way of telling whether the beginning of the *Laches* coincided with the beginning of the roll.

The lines preserved have a length of 17 to 21 letters. The writing slopes to the right; it offers a contrast of widths (*ε θ ο c* narrow, *α η κ μ ν* broad), and a tendency to the bilinear (*ρ* normally reaches below the line). It may be assigned to the end of the second century.

The scribe transcribed his exemplar accurately, except for a haplography (*παρ-* for *παρρ-*) in 14; and the exemplar offered no variants from the medieval tradition, which itself is unanimous in this passage. Sense-breaks are indicated by high points (9, 11, 15; the last two added subsequently); possible middle point in 5, low point in 12. Other lectional signs are a rough breathing (6), perhaps by a different hand; and diaeresis on initial upsilon (5, 15). Iota adscript in 9, but not in 5 and 8.

Three other papyri of the *Laches* survive, see Pack³ 1408-10.

τξ[ε] οτι ου χρη αυτου α[με 179 B

λειν και παρακαλονη[τες

νμας επι το επιμελ[ειαν

τινα ποιησασθαι τ[ων

5 ἔων κοινη μεθ ημ[ων

οθεν δε ἡμιν ταυτ [εδο

ξεν ω Νικια τε και Ααχ[ης

χρη ακουσαι καν η ο[λι

γωι μακροτερα· κυς[ιτου

10 μεν γαρ δη εγω τε κα[ι] Μ[ε

λ]η[ς]ιας οδε· και ημ[ι]ω τα

μειρακια παρασιτει οπερ C

ο]νν και α[ρ]χομενος ειπον

του λογου παρησιασμε

15 θα πρ]ος ὑμας· ημων γαρ

εκατερος π]ερι εαν[του

1 λεγον]||τξ[ε].

5 The papyrus does not support Král's theory that something has fallen out after *ἡμῶν*. Schanz proposed instead a lacuna after 179 B 1 *δντα*.

Before *κοινη* a point of ink, either accidental or a middle stop.

9 *κυσ[ι]*: the first sigma seems to have been corrected from some other letter.

12 Before *οπερ* a low point of ink: a mark of punctuation, added later?

3672-3675. PLATO, *Laws*

These four pieces treble the number of papyri of Plato's *Laws* so far published, the others being Pack² 1423 and 1425. Pack² 1424 is not, as the entry implies, a verbatim text but a commentary or epitome of 8. 832 E-835 E. Unfortunately P. J. Sijpesteijn in 'Die Platon-Papyri', *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 26-33 has been misled by Pack about this text; this error and the publication of 3672-3675 now alter the balance of his statistics for the relative frequency of papyri of the *Laws*. None of the new texts belongs to the same manuscript as Pack² 1423 or 1425, or overlaps them in content. All four are noteworthy for their close adherence to the text found in A, which for books 6-12 is the main representative of the medieval tradition, since after 746 B 8, O is copied from A. For the manuscript affiliations see L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and its Relations* 1-47 and the Budé edition of Plato, xi. 1, ed. É. des Places (1951), pp. ccvii-ccxvi. 3672 and 3673 have been collated with xi. 2, ed. des Places (1951), 3674 and 3675 with xii. 1, ed. A. Diès (1956).

Mr I. Marriott of the Oxford University Computing Service has been most helpful in providing letter-counts of the books of the *Laws* to ease the calculation of column positions and the possible length of rolls.

3672. PLATO, *Laws* 6. 751 A-C

39 3B. 76/D(1)a

10.4 × 11 cm

Third century

This is a small piece containing the bottom of the first two columns of book 6, written in a medium-sized 'severe' style hand. There is considerable difference between thick vertical strokes and finer, rising obliques. Kappa and chi, and sometimes iota and tau, have finials; epsilon is narrow and is not ligatured to a following letter; omicron is tiny and always raised high. There is a marked tendency for letters to become smaller where they are squeezed in near line-ends. The hand is to be assigned to the third century AD, perhaps to the first rather than the second half. It is closely similar to, but not the same as, I 23, pl. vi, *Laws* 9. 862-3 (= Pack² 1425), and BKT II, pp. 53 f. (= R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* ii 2, no. 33 and Pack² 1424, cf. above). XVII 2098 (= C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 19b), assigned to the first half of the third century, is also a good parallel.

Given that a line has on average 11.4 letters and that there are 326 letters between the beginning of col. i 2 and the end of ii 1, there must have been approximately 28 lines per column. Since 199 letters of this book preceded the beginning of col. i 1 (almost certainly *δὴ/τινα*), 17-18 lines are lost, which with the existing 10 lines make the required number for a column of 27-8 lines. This rules out the possibility of a heading in the first column, unless it were in the top margin. On the basis of 56,037 letters (including iotas

adscript) for the whole book, there will have been approximately 172 columns, making with intercolumnium plus column width of 7 cm a roll of c. 12 m in length. The written area was c. 16.8 cm high. The lower margin was at least 4 cm, making the minimum height of the roll 23.4 cm (see E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 25).

Small, neat line-fillers have been used occasionally. A double point placed by the first hand in i 10 is the only punctuation certainly visible. Elision is not marked. A circumflex has been added, probably by a second hand, in ii 2. As there is no change of speaker in the extant text, we have no evidence for the use of paragraphi, nor is it extensive enough to see whether iotas adscript were used.

The text shows no departures from that of A. The back is blank.

col. i		.	col. ii	
	καθ]ιςτα>			
	μενας ε]πειτα		μ[ο]υρο[ν ο]υδξ[ν	
	ουτω δη] τους νο		πλεον εϋ τεθεν	
	μους τ]αις αρχαις		των [ο]υδ οτι γε	
5	εκασταις α]π[ο]>		λως αν παμπο	
	δοτεον ους]τι>	751 B	5	λως ξυμβαينوι
	νας τε αν κ]αι ο>		ςχεδον δε βλα>	751 C
	σους και ο]ι[ου]ς>		βαι και λωβαι	
	προσηκο]ν αν		πρω μ[ε]χιςτ[αι	
10	εκασταις ει]η:>		τα[ι]ς πολεσι γ[ι	

col. ii. 5 The facsimile of fol. 202^r of A (*Platonis Codex Parisinus A* with an introduction by H. Omont, (Paris, 1908)) shows that A has ξυμβαίνοι, not the κυμβαίνοι printed by Burnet in the OCT, v (1907) and by des Places. Both editors have, as L. A. Post, *AJPh* 75 (1954) 203 points out, eliminated xi in words compounded with *σω-*.

There is probably a middle stop at the line-end.

3673. PLATO, *Laws* 6. 771A-D

9 1B. 185/E(a)

9.3 × 11.8 cm

Late second/
early third century

An almost rectangular piece of papyrus of *Laws*, book 6, containing the top half of a column complete, a trace of the preceding, and line-beginnings from the succeeding column. It is attractively laid out with a generous top margin of at least 3.6 cm and an intercolumnium of c. 1 cm. Since the average line-length is just over 19 letters and there are 690 letters between the beginning of cols. ii 1 and iii 1, there were 36 lines per column

with a written height of about 18 cm. Allowing a lower margin of perhaps 5.5 cm (see E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 25), the roll will have had a height of about 27 cm. Above col. ii is a column number, 51, in a second hand. (For similar examples see III 412 and PSI XII 1284.) Before -νωc in ii 1 there are 33,006 letters of text which one would expect to divide into 48 columns; unless *va* is wrong—an unwise assumption—this shows how imprecise such calculations based on a small amount of text can be. Tentatively one can calculate that the whole book occupied 84 columns, giving a length for the roll, if it contained only this book, of about 6.5 m. The column width is *c.* 6.4 cm, the intercolumnium 1.2 cm.

The hand is a medium-sized and stylish example of the 'severe' style to be assigned to the late second or early third century. Alpha and delta are noticeably angular. Most hastas are vertical without turning at the foot, and there are few finials. The centre of mu is a gentle curve, and the oblique of nu also curves up to meet the right-hand vertical. Omicron is small and placed in mid-line. The right oblique and vertical of upsilon are run into one, almost vertical stroke. A good parallel is XLV 3215 (pl. 3), assigned to the second century. Also comparable are XXX 2522 (pl. 9), likewise assigned to the second century but more square in appearance, XXXII 2619 (pl. 3), late second or third century, and C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 196, first half of the third century.

There are no breathings, accents, or punctuation, except a paragraphus below l. 8. Elision is not marked. Line-fillers are used in ll. 5 and 9. Again, the text has nothing of importance. On the back, the other way up, are parts of two columns of an agricultural account in a third-century documentary hand with artaba and drachma symbols.

col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	<i>να</i>	
].	νωc δεχομενοι ζητε εν αγτοιc τα δ αλλα επιτηδευ ματα κ]αι προς αλλα τεινον τα των αγαθων λεγομενων	ρ[ε ε[χει π[ο ερ[δεκαδος cμ[ικροτατον θ[ατερα surface stripped
5	χαιρειν χρη προσ[γ]ορευ εν αρχη δε εcτω των με τα ταυτα ημιν νομων ηδε τικ αφ ιερων ηργμενη τον αριθμον γαρ δη δει	θ[ειcαιν λ[ηθωc ορ[κ μ[υθος τ[α
10	πρωτον αναλαβειν ημαc τον των πεντακιcχειλι ων και τεττερακοντα ο	

	cαc ειχε τε και εχει τομαc	[	771D
	προcφ[ο]ρουc ο τε ολ[ο]c αμα	771B	τ[ην
15	και ο κ[ατα] φυλαc ο δη του παντοc εθεμ]εν [δ]ωδεκ[α		

col. i. 1], low trace followed by the lower part of an oblique descending to the right; α or λ probable.

col. ii. 12 τεττερακοντα: I. τετταρακοντα, see Mayer *supra* 1. 34.

13 ειχε: ειχεν A.

col. iii. 2 In the margin to the left there is what appears to be a double point. If it is not stray ink, its significance is unclear.

3674. PLATO, *Laws* 9. 854 C-D

23 3B 12/H(1)a

5.3 × 10.3 cm

Second century

This small scrap, which is badly rubbed in the lower part, contains the right-hand ends of twenty lines of *Laws* 9. The top and bottom margins are lost but enough remains of the intercolumnium to the right to deduce that the lines varied in length from 13 to 20 letters.

The hand with its frequent and characteristic serifs and marked bilinearity is the same as that of XXVI 2441 (= E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, no. 22), part of Pindar, *Paeans* 14 and 15. It is a medium-sized, upright, and rounded capital, assigned by Lobel and Turner to the second century AD and probably to the middle of that century.

The text presents no variants. Iota adscript has been employed regularly, except for an omission in l. 9. The first hand has added a diaeresis in l. 8, but no other lectional signs or punctuation are apparent apart from line-fillers at the ends of ll. 7 and 9. There is an itacism in l. 3 and a superfluous nu ephelcysticon in l. 12. Nothing is written on the back.

	τοιc παν]τα τ[αυτα επι νοουcιν] οcα ανρ[ο]cια εργα και πολ]ειτοφθορα τω[ι μεν πειθ]ομενωι τον [5 νομον εα]ν cιγηι δει τωι δε απε]ιθουντι με τα το προοι]μιον αι δεν με]χα οc δ αν ιερο cυλων] ληφθη εαν	854 D
--	--	-------

10 μεν ηι] δουλός η ξενος
 εν τωι προ]ρφωπωι κ[αι
 ταις χερ]ειν χ[ρ]αφεις [την
 συμφοραν] κα[ι] μ[α]στ[ι]γω
 θεικ οπος]αξ αν [δοξηι
 15 ταις δικασ]ταξ ε[κ]τοξ
 χωρα]ξ χυμ[νοξ
]. [.]. [.]
]. [.]. [.]
]. [.]. [.]
 20]. [.]

3 l. πολυτοφθορα.

17-20 Exiguous remains of tops and bottoms of letters. The spacing suggested may be incorrect. In 19]. [.] may represent a rounded letter followed by a vertical.

3675. PLATO, *Laws* 9. 865 A-C

17 2B. 63/F(a)

9.1 × 12.3 cm

Second century

The lower part of two columns of an elegant papyrus manuscript of the ninth book of Plato's *Laws*, written by the same scribe as the one who copied VIII 1083 and XXVII 2453, both parts of various plays of Sophocles (= E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, no. 28), and also P. Oxy. Hels. 6. E. G. Turner discusses the dating of this hand in *GMAW*, p. 27 and supports A. S. Hunt's dating to the middle of the second century AD against Schubart's preference for the first century.

Like the other MSS in this hand, the present text is spaciouly set out with a lower margin of 5 cm and an intercolumnium of at least 1.3 cm. Col. ii contained 592 letters, which with an average line-length of just over 17 letters would have occupied 34-5 lines. The column height can be estimated at about 21 cm, the roll height in the region of 33 cm, and the column width at about 5.2 cm. Since 19,788 letters are lost before δημ]ορξικξ in col. i 1, the two extant columns were possibly the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth in the roll, the whole book taking up perhaps 84 columns and a length of 5-5.5 m. There was, then, room for another book of the *Laws* in the same roll.

The original scribe has placed a circumflex in ii 5, an initial diaeresis in ii 8, high stops in ii 6 and 11, a dipole opposite ii 6 and 8, and a curious sign like a large capital eta with a broken cross-bar opposite ii 12. Though the significance of diplai is often unclear, here they may actually fulfil the function ascribed to them by Diogenes Laertius 3. 65

and an anonymous writer (*Mélanges Tisserant* i 25-30) of marking passages of Platonic doctrine. For the second sign I can find no parallel; perhaps it refers to a hypomnema in which χρησασθω (which is a variant of A's -αι, see note) was commented on. A discussion of the critical signs employed in Platonic papyri is given in the introduction to XLVII 3326. A second hand—probably not the same as the second hands in 1083, 2453, and P. Oxy. Hels. 6—has neatly added an omitted word above i 6 and marked each letter with a dot above and below.

The text seems once to have the reading of a later hand in O (ii 12), but here and in i 9 where there is a crux the papyrus is damaged. There is nothing on the back.

col. i	col. ii
δημ]ορξικξ	. . .] 865 c
ακων ειτε παρα]χρημα	ζων τον εα[ντου διειρ
ειτε και εν υστερ]οις χρο	α γξσθαι τον [του τελευτη
νοικ εκ των πλη]χων	καντοξ δεξ[ποτην αβλα
5 απεκτεινεν τι]να φιλι	5 βή παρεχετ[ω και αξημι
ον η κατα πολεμ]ον η	> ον η δικην [ειξ την α
κατα μελετην τ]ην προς	ξιαν του τελευτη]σαν
πολεμον ποιου]μενων	> τοξ υπεχετω διπλ[ην
ακχηιν των αρχ]οντω[ν	τηξ δε αξιαξ οι δικαστ[αι
10 ψιλοικ σωμαξιν η] μξ	865 b 10 διαγωνων ποιεισθω[
τα τινων οπλων απ]ο	σαν καθαρμοικ δε χρη]σα
μιμουμενων την π]ο	† † ρθ. . . μειζοικ τε και π[λει

col. i. 9 φ], two mid traces; the size of the hole to the right favours αρχοντων: so A and (s.v. comp.) O⁴; om. O; secl. Burnet; τών άκοντίων Bury. For the problem of A's reading see the commentary of E. B. England, vol. ii (1921) ad loc.

12]ρ, top of curved letter curving down to the right rather than the foot of a descending oblique; or o of πολεμικόν are likely, making a line of 15 or 17 letters. The number of broad letters in the first part of the line indicates the former.

col. ii. 1 . . .], various indistinguishable traces; δημ]ον might fit but is very uncertain.

3 τόν ante τοῦ A et (s.v.) O⁴; om. O

6 The dipole here and in 8 may mark off the section in which Plato specifies the punishment for a man who kills another's slave. Unfortunately the left-hand margins opposite other lines where punishments are specified are lost.

12 ρθ. . . , the lower part of a rounded letter followed by an oblique descending to join the foot of a vertical; possibly αι but probably ω; confusion arises because of the angular form of ω in this hand. χρησάσθω O⁴ (ω s.v.) but cf. the scholia, p. 346 Greene (who attributes this to O²). L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and its Relations* 10 comments on the difficulty of distinguishing the later hands in O, χρησάσθαι A O et II i. m. O⁴. The slight damage to the papyrus here and the consequent difficulty of determining the reading show how easily the *lectio facillior* may have arisen.

3676. PLATO, *Phaedo* 107 D-110 A

50 4B.25

18 × 21 cm

Second century

Remains of four consecutive columns, assembled from a good number of pieces, of a manuscript of the *Phaedo* written in a hand identified by Mr Lobel as that responsible for XLV 3213 and the other manuscripts mentioned there. There will have been in the region of 46 lines to the column, c. 21 cm deep. Back blank.

An apparently two-grade punctuation system is used, in addition to the double-point at change of speaker. Otherwise lection signs are sparse: elision is effected tacitly; there is an occasional trema, and very occasional accents (*εχόν* before pause at iii 18). Filler signs at line-end, both single and double (iii 21), but not regularly.

For a text of so late a date there are an unusual number of new readings, not all of them to be attributed to scribal error: ii 4, iii 3, 5 f., 11, 15, 18 f., 19, iv 13, 17, 19, 24. But none is of much consequence, and whether any one of them is to be preferred is open to question. In most of the cases the papyrus stands at variance with the united evidence of the direct and indirect tradition (mainly Stobaeus and Eusebius), with no component of which is any significant affinity apparent.

My reports of manuscript readings, drawn in the first instance from Burnet's OCT and Robin's Budé, have once or twice been supplemented from Prof. A. Carlini's private collations, which he kindly put at my disposal. (For the MSS collated, and a study of their interrelationships, see his *Studi sulla tradizione antica e medievale del Fedone*, pp. vi, 145-95.) Normally however there is no occasion to cite manuscripts other than BTW. (Y, used by Robin, is not cited, having no independence: Carlini, op. cit. 161-3.) Testimonia are listed by Carlini at *SCO* 16 (1967) 301 f.

There is slight textual overlap with II 229 and with XVIII 2181 frt. 41-2 and 44.

col. i

ωφέλ]ειν η 107 D
βλαπτει τον] τελευτη
σαντα ευθυσ εν] αρχηι της
εκεισε πορειας· λε]χεται δε
5 ουτως. ως αρα τελευ]τησαν
τα εκαστον ο εκαστο]ν δαμων.
οσπερ ζωντα ειληχει. ου]τρως

col. ii

π[ερ αι α]λλα. την μεν α[κα 108 B
βαρτον· κ[αι] τ]ι π[εποιη
κνιαν τρ[ιουτ]ρον. η φ[ωνων
αδικων ημμενην [η c. 4
τοι[αυ]τα ειργασμενην[· α του
των αδελφα τε κ[αι] αδ[ελ
φω]ν ψυχων εργα τυχα[νει
οντα. ταυτη]ν μεν [απας φευγει
τε [και ὑπεκτρεπ]ετα κ[α]ι ο]ν

10 τε συνεμπορος ο]υθ ηγεμων
εθελει γιγνεσθαι· αυ]τη δε
πλαναται εν παση εχ]οριμε

col. iii

αλλ εφ]η ο Σι[μμυ]ας και ταυτα 108 E
αρκει]: πεπ[εις]μαι τριμυ
η δ ος εγω· ως πρ[ω]τον μεν ε
στιν [εν μεσ]ωι τωι οφρανωι
5 πε[ρι]φ[ερης ου]σα. μηδεν αυ
την δ[ειν μη]τ[ε] αερος. προσ
το μη πε[ρ]ε[μ]η[τε] αλλ]ης 109 A
αναγκης μηδεμια[ς το]ιαυ
τ]ης· αλλ ικανη [ει]ναι αυ
10 την] ι[σ]χ[ειν] τη[ν] ομο]ιωτη
τα του ο]υρα[νον] αυτ]ωι αυτου

col. iv

την ἰσσορο]πιαν ἰσσοροπον
γαρ παραμ]α ομοιον τιωος 109 D
15 εν μεσω]ι τεθεντος ουχ ε
ξειν (?) μα]λλον. ουδ ηττον
ουδαμος]ε κλιθηνα· ομ[ο]ι
ως δε εχόν. ακλιφε με
5 γειν· πρωτον η δ ος του
το πεπειμαι· και ορθως >
20 γε] εφ[η] ο] Σιμμι]ας· ετι τοι >>
υν] εφη παρμεγα τι ειμ[αι
αυτο. και η]μας [οικει]ν τους 10
109 B μεχρι Ηρακλειων στ]ηλων
25 απο Φασιδος] εν μικρωι
γμ[ενος μηδε εωρακως ειη· 109 D
εκ[δους και ανακυψας εκ της
θα[λαττης εις τον ενθαδε το
προν]· οσωι καθαρωτερος και
5 καλλι]ων τυγχανει ων του
παρα εφ[ει]. μηδε αλλου ακη
κ[ιω]ς ε[ι]η του εωρακοτος· ταυ
[τον δη τουτο και ημας πεπον]
[θβαι· οικουντας γαρ εν τινη]
10 κο]ιλ[ωι της γης οιεσθαι επα
νω αυ[της οικειν. και τον α
ερα ουρα]νον καλειν. ως δι
α τουτου τ. . [ουρανον οντος
τα αστρα χωρο]υντα· το δε ει
15 γαι ταυτων υ[π]ασθενειας 109 E
και βραχυτητος ουχ [οιουσ

τε ειναι ημας διελθ[ειν επ
 εσχατον τον αερ[α] επει
 ει τ]ις εφη [α]κρα [αυτου ελθου
 20 η πτηνος γεν[ομενος ανα
 π]τοιτο. κατιδ[ειν ανακα
 ψαντα ωσπερ [ενθαδε οι
 εκ της θαλαττη[ε] ιχθυες α
 νακυψαντες . . [c. 6 τα
 25 εν]θαδε ον[τ]ω[ε] αν τινα
 κ]αι τα εκει κα[τιδειν] και
 ει η] φυς[ε] ικαν[η] ειη αναρχε
 ρθα.]ι [θεωρουσα. γωναι
 [αν οτι εκεινος εστιν]
 30 ο α]ληθως ουρανος και
 το α]ληθινο[ν] φως και η ως α
 ληθως γη· ηδ[ε] μεν

110 A

col. i. 1 Before *ώφελ[ε]ίν* there is no telling whether the papyrus had *μέγιστα λέγεται* (B) or *λέγεται μέγιστα* (TW Iambl. Stob.).

7 *ώπερ . . . οδ]τος: ώσπερ . . . οδ]τως* Stob.

col. ii. 4 The paradosis is *ή άλλ' άττα τοιαύτα* (*η αλλ άττα* [2181 fr. 41–2. 4]), for which there seems insufficient room in the papyrus. I should think it more likely that *άλλα* or *άττα* has here dropped out by haplography than that one of them is intrusive in the tradition.

10 Before *v* is a supralinear speck I have taken for an accent, but it may be merely casual.

col. iii. 3 The stop separates the main from the dependent clause. *ει* is omitted before *εστιν*, whether by accident or, if the construction caused difficulty—as well it might!—in an attempt to mend the text. It is missing in Stobaeus too, there displaced by an apparently intrusive *γη*. Eusebius, perhaps offering a different solution to the same problem, omits *ως*.

4 *του ουρανού* Stob.

5 f. *ατήν* for the other witnesses' *ατή* may be merely a slip, or it may be inherited (*ατήν* subject of *δειν*).

9 *άλλ'* TW: *άλλά* B.

The physical damage is too severe to allow certainty, but the space available looks more suitable for simple *ικανή*, with BTW Euseb. Stob., than for the *ικανή γε* of B² (*ικανή τε* GP).

10 *αδ[την]* with BT Euseb. Stob.: *ατήν τε* B²W. No room for *τε* or *τ'* in pap. Eusebius has a different word-order: *εχειν ατήν εΐναι*.

11 *εαντ]ών αυτου:* in reverse order in the other witnesses (codd., Euseb., Stob.); *εαντω* variously rendered *εαντω*, *αυτω*, *αυτω*.

12 T and Eusebius give *ατήν* for *ατή*.

13 A low (i.e. light) stop may have been lost after *ιςοροπίαν* (which is omitted in the Stobaeus MSS).

15 *τεθέντος*. All the other witnesses (codd., Euseb., Stob., Simplic.) have *τεθέν*. With the papyrus' reading, it is the universe that is the *ιςοροπον πρᾶγμα* and the earth that is the *όμοιών τι* at the centre; but *όμοιότης* and *ιςοροπία* have just been applied conversely, and in any case it is the earth whose non-movement is under discussion.

15 f. *ε[ξεν* (?). The other witnesses have *εξει*. At 18 f. below the papyrus has *μενεν* in place of the transmitted *μένει* (*μενεί*). That might be a mere slip induced by the infinitive *καλθῆναι*, and does not by itself assure restoration of the infinitive here, but *ξει* looks rather too short for the space, whereas *ξεν* would fit well. It seems we have to reckon with a continuation of the indirect construction.

18 *εχόν*. Cf. *εχά* so accented before a low stop at V 841 xviii 48 (Pind. *Paean* 4. 44); there, however, the accent seems best accounted for by the fact that the *-χω* is the final syllable of a question (cf. J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 161 f.), while here the accent seems to be used simply to dissociate *εχον* phonetically from what follows, as the stop dissociates it grammatically. Above *ε* the papyrus is missing, but I would presume there was no written accent there.

18 f. *μενεν*. The paradosis is *μενει* (i.e. *μενεί*, but *μένει* virtually all witnesses). See on 15 f. above.

19 After *πρώτον* all the other witnesses (codd., Euseb., Stob.) have *μέν;* in addition Eusebius has *δή* (accepted by Robin) and TW *τοίνυν* (accepted by Burnet). TW then omit *ή δ' δε* (add. T³ in marg.). What the original text was I am not at all sure, but the simplicity of the papyrus' version is attractive, and most of the particles could have been imported from 108 ε.

22 *παμμεγα*, i.e. *παμμεγα*.

25 *μικραι*. The other witnesses have *εμικρῶ* (at least, *μικρῶ* is not reported).

col. iv. 13 τ. : the remains are compatible with *του*. The other witnesses (including 229, to judge from the space) have *ουρανοῦ* without article, and that is surely correct; dittography in pap.

16 *βραχυπτερος: βραδυπτερος, q. leg.*

17 *διελθειν: διεξελθειν* (codd., Euseb., Stob., Origen), which seems superior.

19 *επ'* [α]κρα [αυτου (or *επ'* [α]κρ' α[υτου]): αυτου επ' άκρα (*άκρον* W) the other witnesses (codd., Euseb., Stob.), 2181 included (τ]ικ αντου επ[fr. 44. 2).

21 Before *ανακύναντα* editors from Stephanus on have supplied *αν*, an obvious haplographical loss which may or may not have been shared by the papyrus. Eusebius' *δή*, which *AN* doubtless underlies (cf. e.g. *Gorg.* 452 c 3), indicates that *αν* was still current in at least part of the tradition in antiquity.

24 *δ]νακύναντες . . .* [The received text (codd., Euseb., Stob.) is *δνακύναντες δρᾶσι*. While I do not think *δ]ρωσι* can definitely be excluded as the papyrus' reading, the traces are more consistent with *ιδ]: δ]νακύναντες β]οιεν αν?*

25 There may have been a stop after *ενθαδε*.

27 f. The tradition, both direct and indirect, is split between *αναχέσθαι* and *ανεχέσθαι*, and there is no telling which the papyrus in fact had.

31 *ε]ληθῶ[ν]* with most of the tradition (B² in marg. T W Euseb. Stob. Origen): *άληθῶς* B.

3677. PLATO, *Phaedrus* 267 c

A9/49C

4.0 × 5.9 cm

Second century

This papyrus of *Phaedrus* contains one significant reading, in l. 9, where *οι]κτρογοων*, itself a hapax legomenon, is corrected by a second hand to *οι]κτροβοων*, also hapax legomenon.

It is written in carbon ink in an informal round hand of the second century AD which is markedly bilinear and 2.5 mm high. The letters are largely separate with few touching. The left-hand verticals of gamma, kappa, nu, and tau have a serif to the left at the foot. Upsilon is in the form of an open V. Of the papyri of the second century XXVI 2441 (Pindar, *Paean*; *GMAW* 22) is similar, but the letters join. XVIII 2160–4 (Aeschylus, Various plays) copied by the same scribe, are less seriffed and the letters are closer together.

The line-beginnings are missing and hence no paragraphi survive. There is a

double stop to mark change of speaker in l. 3, and a high stop in l. 8. *πενια*(ν) is abbreviated at the line-end in l. 10. There are no breathings or accents. The back is blank.

The *Phaedrus* survives in seven other papyri: Pack² 1400-3, 1405-6, of which 1406 (P. Primi 9, ii-iii AD, Oxyrhynchus) contains the same passage, and P. Turner 7 (PSI inv. 1921) 233 E-234 B (ii² AD), which has appeared subsequently. The papyri of the *Phaedrus* have been investigated by Otwin Vinzent, *Textkritische Untersuchungen der Phaidros-Papyri* (Diss. Saarbrücken 1961).

The supplements are taken from J. Burnet's Oxford text, ii of 1901 and the Budé edition, iv 3 edited by Léon Robin (5th edn., 1961).

	ἔδωρ]ησ[ατο	267 c
	π]ρ[ο]ς ποιησιν εν[επει	
	α]ς: Πρωταγορευια [δε	
	ω] Cωκρατες ου[κ	
5	η]ν μεντοι τοιαυ[ατ	
	τα] ρ[ρ]θοεπεια γε [τις	
	ω παι] κα[ι α]λλα πολ[λα	
	και κ]αλα των γε μ[η	
	ν οι]κτρογοων [επι	
10	γηρα]ς και πενια(ν)	
	ελκομ]εων λογων	
	κεκρατ]ηκε[ναι	

1 ἄ κεινω ἔδωρησατο P. Primi 9 BTW: Schanz brackets, Volgraff deletes.

2 προς ποιησιν pap. P. Primi 9 BTW: προσποιήσιν Cornarius: πρὸς ποιείαν (with προσποιήσιν) Schanz Volgraff.

3-5 ἐπέειπας BTW: ἐπέειπας Hermias Heindorf Schanz: εὐρεπειας P. Primi 9, where Vogliano thinks εὐρεπειας was in the scribe's mind.

9 οἰκτρογόων pap.: οἰκτρογοῶν P. Primi 9 BTW: οἰκτρογόνων Nap. 337. οἰκτρογόνων is a hapax legomenon of a poetic tinge, perhaps deriving from Thrasymachus or Plato's parody of his style (Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker* ii¹⁸ 2. 85 B 6). Beta is inserted above the line in a second hand to give a further hapax legomenon as a correction—'the art of dragging language which "shouts piteously" [instead of "which wails piteously"] in the service of old age and poverty'. The reading οἰκτρογόνων is to some extent supported by Hesychius O 82 οἰκτρογόνωντας: οἰκτιζομένους, ἔλεουμένους and by the use of the noun οἰκτρογόνη in Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3, 63 τοῖς . . . δλοφωραμένους ἀποπαύουσι τῶν οἰκτρογοῶν ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἔλεον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δικασθῶσιν ὁ θεὸς δ' ἄρα οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς κολακίαν δικάζει. ποία γὰρ κολακεία καὶ ποῖος λόγος οἰκτρογοῶν κατὰ τὰς θείας γυγνώμενος γραφᾶς κ.τ.λ.

In the Origen passage P. Koetschau and M. Borret in their editions of 1899 and 1968 both follow Neumann in printing ἀποπαύουσι λόγων οἰκτρογόνων (τῶν ἰν τασα; οἰκτρογῶν MS A Origenis), and καὶ ποῖος

λόγος οἰκτρογῶος (οἰκτρογῶων MS A Origenis). Neumann's emendations are based on *Phaedrus* 267 c. Celsus' language here is Stoic, as H. Chadwick observes in *JTS* 48 (1947) 47.
10 πενιά.

3678. PLATO, *Philebus* 18 E-19 A

16 2B. 46/A(c)

4.6 × 8.3 cm

Late second century

A small scrap of papyrus of Plato's *Philebus* having the right-hand ends of twelve lines of one column and three letters from the following. The only other published papyrus of this dialogue is P. Köln III 135 containing 61 c-e. Little can be gleaned about the format except that the intercolumnium is 2 cm wide and the number of letters per line ranges from 14 to 18.

The piece can be assigned to the late second century. The small, rather heavy sloping hand is closely comparable to, but not I think the same as, the extensive text of Plato's *Symposium*, V 843 (pl. 6), assigned to c. 200; our text has a slightly more finished appearance. Also similar are XIII 1620 (pl. 6), assigned to before 200, and XVII 2082 (pl. 4.) Neat line-fillers have been used, and in col. i 3 and 9 nu at the line-end has been indicated by a stroke above the preceding vowel. There is a middle stop probably by the first hand in col. i 2, but no other marks or signs.

The text, as far as it goes, is a good one, and in the one place where W is clearly wrong follows B and T. It is collated with the Budé edition of A. Diès (1941). On the back is part of a document in a third-century cursive with various numbers, artaba symbols, and references to *Ἐπειφ*, *τρύγη*, and *ποταμό*[ς].

	col. i	col. ii
	εκα]τφε[ρ]ον και	18 E
	πως μη απει]ρα ευθυς	
	αλλα τινα πο]τε αριθμο(ν)	19 A
	εκατερον εμπ]ροσθεν>	
5	κεκτηται του] απειρα>	
	αυτων εκαστ]α γεγο>	
	νευαι ουκ ει]ς φαυλον	
	γε ερωτημα ω] Φιληβε	
	ουκ οιδ οντιν]α τροπο(ν)	
10	κυκλω πως] περιαχα	
	γαν ημας εμ]βεβλη>	δ[
	κε Cωκρατης] και σκο>	τ. [

- col. i. 1 Below ν a downward curving stroke which must be accidental.
 3 ἀριθμῶ
 5 ῥπειρα: ἀπειρου (sic) W.
 9 τροπῶ
 col. ii. 1 and 2 The position of these letters is unidentifiable.
 2 .[: top of a vertical.

3679. PLATO, *Republic* 5. 472 E-473 D

7 1B. 1/XI-XII(a)

13.3 × 8.2 cm

Third century

A piece of a handsome papyrus roll containing parts of two columns of *Republic* 5. It neither belongs to nor overlaps any other published papyri of the *Republic*, for which see Pack² 1418-25; to these are now to be added XLIX 3509, 1. 330 A-B (ed. R. Hübner); *Scritti Monteverocchi* 85-7, 3. 399 D-E (ed. A. Carlini); XXXVI 2751, 3. 412 C-419 B-C; XLVII 3326, 8. 545 C-546 A; XLIV 3157, 10. 610 C-613 A.

Lines vary in length from 21 to 29 letters, though the average is about 25. There were probably 45 lines to a column, which would give a written height of c. 21 cm. The column width is 7.3 cm, the intercolumnium 1.7 cm.

The hand is an example of the 'severe' style, striking for its uprightness, for the small size of epsilon, theta, omicron, sigma, and omega, and for the way in which these letters hang from the upper line. Parallels are difficult to find, but these characteristics are shared by XXX 2529 (pl. 3 and 13), which Lobel assigned to the second half of the third century or even the fourth. VII 1012 (pl. 4), assigned to the middle of the third century, is less similar. Also noteworthy in the present hand are the long descenders of rho and pi, the wide horizontals of delta and pi, the deep bowl of mu, the long, curly tail of xi, and the clear central stroke of omega.

The original scribe has marked change of speaker in the usual way by a double point and paragraphus. The double points are large and slightly untidy; only two paragraphi survive, because, in other places where they are expected, the left margin is broken. No other punctuation is apparent, and the only lectional sign is a diaeresis in col. ii 8, probably by the first hand. Iota adscript is present in i 16 but not in i 6; elision is effected except in i 7.

The text nowhere sides with F, and where it differs clearly from A has readings of its own. There are two minor variants in col. i 4 and 9, two omissions caused by haplography in i 5 and 10, an itacism in ii 5, and two new readings in i 9 and ii 8. The first of these is not an improvement; the second, as the diaeresis shows, is an Ionic form of ἀποκλείω. Plato uses this form nowhere else and an Ionicism seems out of place here. The text is collated with E. Chambry's Budé edition (1946).

Nothing is written on the back.

col. i

δυν]ατ[ον 472 E
 ουτω] πολ[ιν οικη]σαι ως ελεγγετ[ο]
 ου δη]τα εφ[η:] το μεν τουνν α
 ληθεσ] ην δ ερω ουτως ει δε δη και
 5 τ[ο]υ προθυμηθηται δει σην χα
 ριν αποδειξει η μαλιιστα και
 κατα τι δυνατωτατα αν ειη πα
 λω μοι προς την τοιαυτην αποδει
 ξιν ταυτα διωμολογηται: τα
 10 ποια: αρ οιον τε πραχθηται ως 473 A
 λεγεται η φυσικη εν πραξιν λεξ[ε]
 ως ηττ]ορ α[ληθε]ι[α]ς εφ[απτε]σθαι
 κ[α]μ[ε]ν] ε[ι] μη τ[ω] δοκει αλλ[α] εν π[ο]τε
 ρον ομολογε[ι]ς ουτως η ου. [ομολο
 15 γ]ω εφ[η:] τουτο μεν δη μη α[να]
 γκαζε μ[ε] [οι]α τωι λογωι διη[λθο]

col. ii

. . .] 473 D
 ν λε[γομ]ε[ν] ε[ρ]οι και δυνασται
 φιλοσοφηςω[ι] γνησιως τε και ικανως
 και τουτο ει[ς] ταυτον ξυμπεση δυνα
 5 μιν τε πολειτ[ικη] και φιλοσοφια των
 δε νυν πορευ[ομενων] χωρις εφ[ε]κα
 τερον αι πολλ[αι] φυσικη εξ αναγκης
 αποκλη[ι]σθ[ω]ω[ι] ουκ εστι ακακων παν
 λ]α [ω] φ[ι]λε

col. i. 2 At the line-end only part of the lower half of the double point is visible.

4 The speck above π in l. 5 must be stray ink since it is too low to belong to any of the lost letters.

ουτως: ούτω codd.

δη om. Stob.

5 τ[ο]υ: an error caused by haplography for τοῦτο.

δε: χρή Stob.

7 δυνατωτατα αν: δυνατώτατ' ἄν A.

9 ταυτα: τὰ αὐτά A.

διωμολογηται: διαμολόγηται A: δει ἰμολόγηται F. The papyrus' new variant, though not impossible, fits less well than the imperative with the preceding σὴν χάριν and the following question from the other speaker. A's and F's readings are phonetic equivalents in the Roman period.

10 After τε the papyrus omits τι in error.

14 Lower half of double point; not part of following o.

col. ii. 3 The several small and narrow letters in the supplement probably account for the large number of letters (30) in this line.

5 πολειτ[ικη]: l. πολιτικη.

7 εκα]τερον: -ων F.

εξ αναγκης om. Stob.

8 αποκλη[ι]σθ[ω]ω[ι]: ἀποκλεισθῶων codd.: ἀποκαθιστῶων Stob.

3680. PLATO, *Theaetetus* 190 E-191 A

24 3B.74/G(a)

6 × 16.4 cm

Second century

The top of a column from a splendid roll (upper margin 6.4 cm), written in a fine upright hand of the angular decorated type exemplified by VIII 1083 (see 3675 introduction) and assignable to the later second century (*GMAW*¹ p. 27; XXXIII 2663 introd.). The scribe writes paragraphus and double point for change of speaker (1, 2; in 6 the double points are lost in the lacuna) and middle point (12). Another hand added the note above the text, in a small informal script with cursive ligatures. The back is blank.

The text offers nothing new; but confirms the antiquity of the suspect *αὐτά* in 16. Collation with the Budé edition of A. Diès.

],..... ειασφ. παραλιτ. []
 1 δης εν ημιν ουσα δοξα: 190 E
ο]υκ εοικε: αλλα μεντοι ω
 Θ]εαιτητε ει τρυτ[ο μη] φ[α
 ν]ησεται ον [πολλα αναγ
 5 κα]ςθης[ομεθα ομολογειν
 κα] ατοπ[α: τα ποια δη: ου
 κ ερω σοι [πριν αν πανταχη
 πειραθω ς[κοπων αιχρυ
 νομην [γαρ αν υπερ ημων
 10 εν ωι απ[ορουμεν αναγ
 καζομε[ν ομολογειν
 οια λεγω: [αλλ εαν ευρωμεν 191 A
 και ελεν. . . []
 τοτ ηδη [περι των αλ
 15 λων ερου[μεν ως πασchon
 των αυτα ξ[κτος του γελου
 ου εστωτε[ς εαν δε παντη
 απορησωμ[εν ταπεινω
 θ]εντες οι[μαι

Margin. On the face of it, -ειασ (perhaps -γειασ) ἀφ' ὧν παραλ(ε)ίπ(ει) (or -εσαι etc.) τῷ [; if τρ is right, and not τ, it cannot be excluded, but the trace looks too short for iota), a noun must have followed in the next line. But I cannot find a reading;] ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπορείας, cf. text 10, suits neither space nor trace.

8 πειραθω: so BTW: -θῶ Y.

10 απ[ορουμεν (BTW) or απ[ορουμεν και (Y). The spacing would allow either.

13 ελεν. . . [: ελεύθεροι MSS. The second epsilon is anomalous; the last three traces apparently ιθρ (the iota might perhaps be rho).

16 αυτα: so BTW (Burnet's report of W is wrong): om. Y: αὐτοί Ast, ἀπὸ αὐτοί Heindorf.

3681. PLATO, *Theaetetus* 198 D-E

38 3B.86/B(1-3)a

6 × 9.5 cm

Second/third century

A scrap from the foot of a column; lower margin at least 4 cm; back blank. The scribe writes a good sloping hand of the Severe Style; and punctuates by high stop, and by double point for change of speaker (if there were also paragraphi, they have been lost with the line-beginnings).

Collated with the edition of Diès. There are no readings of interest.

επισ]τημην ξ[κ]αστ[ο]ν [198 D
 και ι]χροντα: ην εκεκτητηρ
 μεν π]αλαι προχειρον δ ουκ ει
 χε τη δι]ανοιαι: αληθη:
 5 τουτο δη] αρτι ηρωτων ρπως E
 χρη τοις] ονομασιν χρωμε
], . . ν περι αυτων οταν
 αριθμης]ων ηι ο αριθμητικος

1 ξ[κ]αστ[ο]ν]: the first and last letters are represented only by specks.

5 τουτο δη]: so BTW: τοῦτο δ' Y. The longer reading seems to fit the space better; though, for a difference of only one letter, the estimate is bound to be fallible.

7], . . ν: scattered specks of ink, which neither confirm nor exclude λε]γεν (MSS).

3682. PLATO, *Theaetetus* 209 A-C

27 3B.41/F(1-2)a

11.2 × 15.4 cm

Second century

The upper part of a column, with a top margin of at least 2.5 cm and a left-hand intercolumnium of at least 2.5 cm; the back is blank. The scribe writes an informal sloping hand with some ligatures (especially of αι), to be compared with *GLH* 15a and *GMAW* 68; space-fillers at many line-ends; punctuation by middle point, and by paragraphus (4; the other places are damaged) and double-point for change of speaker

(omitted in 15). A different hand supplied an omission in 16. A heavy black stain obscures parts of the writing, especially in 2-7.

Collated with the text of Diēs. The papyrus offers one new, and false, reading (18).

. . . [] διανοια : ου[209 A
 κ εοικε :] τωγ [κωιν]ων τι αρα δι
 ενο]ρμμην ω[ν] ουδεν κυ μαλλον
 η] τις αλλος εχει [:] αναγκη: φερε δη B
 5 προς Διοφ πωφ π[ο]τε εν τωι τοι 7
 ουτωι ρε μαλλο[ν] ε]δοξαζον η αλ
 λον οντ[ι]ν[ουν] θ]εσ χαρ με δια7
 νοουμενον [ωσ] εστιν ουτος Θεαι
 τητος οσ αν η τε [α]νθρωπος και εχη
 10 ρεινα και οφθαλμους και στομα
 και ουτω δη εν εκαστ[ο]ν των με7
 λων· αυτη ουν η διανοια εσθ οτι7
 μαλλον ποιχει με Θεαιτητον7
 η Θεοδωρον διανοεισθαι η των7
 15 λεγομενων Μυρων τον εσχατον
 τ[ι] γ[α]ρ· εαν δη μη μονον τον ε
 χοντα ρεινα] και οφθαλμους δια7
 νοηθ]ω αλλα και σιμων τε και εξ C
 οφθα]λμον μητι σε αυ μαλλον δο
 20 ξασω] η εμαντον η οσοι τοιουτοι : ου[
 δεν : αλλ ου προτερον] γφ οιμα []
 Θεαιτητος εν εμοι δοξασ]θησε[ται]

1-7 The left-hand half of these lines has suffered from damage and staining; the dotted letters are consistent with the traces, but no more.

2 τι: so BTW: om. Y.

9 εχη: so BT: -ει YW.

11 The dotted letters especially doubtful.

14-15 των λεγομενων: so MSS: τὸ λεγόμενον Cornarius.

18 σιμων: τὸν σιμὸν MSS.

19 μητι: so BTY: μήτε W.

3683. [PLATO], [LUCIAN], OR LEON, *Halcyon* 184

A22/133J

3.1 × 6.5 cm

Later second century

The papyrus contains the final sentence and end-title of the dialogue *Halcyon*, written on the back of two columns of agricultural accounts, and is the first example of this work to be identified in Egypt.

In the *Halcyon*, Socrates and Chaerephon, walking near the sea at Phaleron in midwinter, see a halcyon or kingfisher and discuss its mythical origin. It is impossible for human beings with their limited powers of perception to speak with assurance about halcyons or nightingales, so Socrates proposes to continue to tell the myth in the form handed down.

The mention in 184 of Socrates' having two wives, Xanthippe and Myrto the daughter of Aristides, is a story not told by Plato or Xenophon. It gives strong grounds for thinking that in spite of the end-title in 3683 the dialogue is not by Plato. The tale is also told in Plutarch, *Aristeides* 27. 3, Athenaeus 13. 555 D, and Diogenes Laertius 2. 26. All three refer the story back to [Aristotle], *περὶ εὐγενείας* (fr. 93 Rose), which Plutarch suspects not to be a genuine work of Aristotle.

The *Halcyon* has the unusual distinction of having been transmitted among the spurious dialogues attributed both to Plato and to Lucian. The work was considered spurious in antiquity. According to Nicias of Nicaea the dialogue was written by Leon the Academic: ἃ δὲ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου εἶρηκεν ἐν τῷ Συμπόσιῳ οὐδ' εἰς φῶς λέγεσθαι ἔστιν ἄξιον, ἔν τε τῷ προτέρῳ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν διαλόγων· ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος ὑπὸ τινῶν Ξενοφάντος εἶναι λέγεται, ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἀλκυὼν Λέοντος τοῦ Ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ, ὡς φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς (Athenaeus 11. 506 c). The same attribution is supported by Diogenes Laertius 3. 62 in his discussion of the division of Plato's works: νοθεύονται δὲ τῶν διαλόγων ὁμολογουμένως Μίδων ἢ Ἰπποτρόφος, Ἐρυξίας ἢ Ἐρασίστρατος, Ἀλκυῶν, Ἀκέφαλοι, Κύσφος, Ἀξίλοχος, Φαίακες, Δημόδοκος, Χελιδῶν, Ἐβδόμη, Ἐπιμενίδης· ὃν ἡ Ἀλκυὼν Λέοντος εἶναι δοκεῖ, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων (Fr. 15 Mensching, 45 Barigazzi).

Leon the Academic is perhaps to be identified with Leon of Byzantium, a known member of the Academy, who was a contemporary and adversary of Philip of Macedon (*PW* xii 2. 2008-2012). The *Suda* (C 265) names him as a pupil of Plato, 'or as some say of Aristotle'. A series of anecdotes about his life is preserved in Plutarch, *Phocion* 14, *Nicias* 23. 3, *Praxeipia gerendae reipublicae* 804 A and Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 485. 2. However, the notice in the *Suda* appears to confuse the works of Leon of Alabanda with those of Leon of Byzantium (A. Daub, *RhM* NF 35 (1880) 61-2). As the *Suda* names Leon as son of Leon, the works of a father and son may be also confused. Its statement that he was a Peripatetic and wrote against Alexander matches ill with the possibility that he died at the siege of Byzantium in 340-339 BC (Plutarch, *Nicias* 23. 3). But Plutarch here does not make it clear that Leon was indeed killed at this time.

The Peripatetic Leon may be identified with the father of Melanthes and Pancreon. The sons inherited Theophrastus' house, according to his will preserved in Diogenes Laertius 5, 51. See also F. Jacoby, *FGHHist* ii D, pp. 444–5.

The reference to Socrates' two wives may suggest that the Leon who is said to be the author of the *Halcyon* is the pupil of Aristotle, rather than of Plato (*Suda* loc. cit.), if the story of the two wives is in fact dependent on [Aristotle], *περὶ ἐθνεύεiac* (fr. 93 Rose).

The language of the *Halcyon* has a very poetic tinge which has been discussed in detail by C. W. Müller, *Die Kurzdialoge der Appendix Platonica* (Munich 1975) 272–319, and summarily by W. A. Heidel, *Pseudo-Platonica* (Diss. Chicago; Baltimore 1896) 18–20.

Nicias of Nicaea, who attributed the *Halcyon* to Leon the Academic, has no entry in *PW*, but is discussed in F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* (Leipzig 1891) i 505–6. He wrote *αἱ τῶν φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαί* (Athenaeus 12, 592 A; 6, 273 D; 10, 437 E) and *ἡ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἱστορία* (Athenaeus 4, 162 D). In this last fragment he discusses the parentage of Bion of Borysthenes (c. 325–255 BC) and so presumably is to be dated later than he. Susemihl (op. cit. 505) tentatively places him under the early Caesars, but on no secure grounds. Whether he is to be identified with Nicias the author of *Ἀρκαδικά* (Athenaeus 13, 609 E) is uncertain. See C. Müller, *FHG* iv 463.

Favorinus of Arles (c. 81–c. 150) is of the generation preceding Athenaeus (flourish c. 200) and his life overlaps that of Lucian (c. 120–c. 180), who mocks him in his *Demonax* and *Eunuchus*. It is very likely, then, in terms of chronology that his *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* were already in existence before many of Lucian's dialogues were composed.

The *Halcyon* is found attributed to Plato in 27 manuscripts listed by R. S. Brumbaugh and R. Wells, *Plato Manuscripts* (New Haven 1968) 74–5. Of these, 15, including A (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale ms. grec 1807), place it among the *spuria* between the *Sisyphus* and *Eryxias*, and a further 9 after the *Sisyphus*. In the Platonic manuscripts, where it occurs, it carries the alternative title *ἡ περὶ μεταμορφώσεως*.

The manuscripts of Lucian place the dialogue as no. 72 between *Prometheus es in verbis* (vulgo 2) and *Navigium* (vulgo 66) in codex *Γ* but the common order, followed in printed editions (e.g. T. Hemsterhuys, Amsterdam 1743; C. Jacobitz, Leipzig 1851) is 6, between *Timon* and *Prometheus sive Caucasus* (cf. N. Nilén, *Lucianus. Prolegomena* (Leipzig 1907) 28–9).¹ They carry the alternative title *περὶ μεταμορφώσεων* in the plural. This distinction was noted by O. Immisch, *Philologische Studien zu Plato*, 2. Heft (Leipzig 1903) 45, who in 43–7 gives an account of the textual variants in the Platonic and Lucianic manuscripts. Modern editors of Lucian, apart from M. D. MacLeod, in the Loeb of 1967 (and H. D. Rabe, *Scholía in Lucianum*, Leipzig 1906) have printed the singular without stating the evidence.

¹ An updated list is provided by M. Witte, *Scriptorium* 6 (1952) 309–23.

In the papyrus no alternative title is present, and the space left blank below suggests it was never present in this copy.

The last editor of Plato to print the *Halcyon* was C. F. Hermann in vol. vi of his Teubner text of 1884. It appears in vol. i of C. Jacobitz' Teubner text of Lucian and vol. viii of M. D. MacLeod's Loeb edition.

There is no reason to doubt the ancient attribution of this dialogue to Leon the Academic, though his precise identification remains a little uncertain. A. Brinkmann, *De Dialogis Platoni falso addictis* (Diss. Bonn 1891) 25 places Leon in the third or second century BC.

The dialogue is included among the Platonic *spuria* because Socrates is a speaking character. The date of the present papyrus in the latter half of the second century AD attributing the text to Plato is further evidence against Lucianic authorship. C. F. Hermann (praef. i) considered it had no less right to be counted among the Platonic *spuria* than the *Axiochus* or *Sisyphus*. Lucian is rarely mentioned in antiquity¹ and it is uncertain when the Lucianic corpus was gathered together. H. Erbse considers it unlikely that there was an ancient edition² and C. W. Müller suggests it came into existence in the Byzantine period (op. cit. 274). He rightly points out that the assumption of the *Halcyon* into the Lucianic corpus is easily explained by the occurrence of the motif of metamorphosis in Lucian and the treatment of the kingfisher in *Veræ Historiae* 2. 40. The presence of Socrates as a speaker in *Mortuorum Dialogi* 20 may have encouraged it.

The text is written in a black carbon ink in a slightly sloping form of the severe style to be dated to the second century AD. It most closely resembles PSI XIII 1302, Euripides, *Alcmaeon* (s. ii) and XLV 3215, *Tragic Trimeters* (s. ii), which Lobel recognized as being in the same hand. However, in the present piece omicron is oval, not round, and is inclined to the right. This may suggest a date in the second half of the century.

The writing is bilinear, being 3 mm high. Tau and hypsilon project below the line. Serifs are almost non-existent. A paragraphus is written below the beginning of l. 1 and a dipole obelismene at l. 3. V-shaped ornaments are placed above and below the end title.

The text has been compared with the Teubner edition of Plato, ed. C. F. Hermann, vi (1884), the Teubner text of Lucian, ed. C. Jacobitz (1851), and the Weidmann edition of Lucian, ed. I. Sommerbrodt (1886–96).

¹ K. Mras, 'Die Überlieferung Lukians', *SB Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 167. 7 (1911) 232 cites only Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 1. 9, 8, Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 4. 55, and Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* proem. 9. But Lucian's contemporary Galen also refers to him by name, see G. Strohmaier, *Philol.* 120 (1976) 117–22 (I am grateful to Mr M. D. MacLeod for this reference).

² *Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen . . . Literatur* (Zürich 1961), 598.

	]πα. υ[		πάνν [μέν' 184
	]ουνποιω[		οὐν ποιῶ[μεν οὐ-
	]τωσ [		τως . [
]]
]]
	]πλατων[		Πλάτων[οσ
5	]αλκυων[		]αλκυών[
]]
]]
]]

2-3 οὐ]τωσ Pap., MSS dett. Luciani: οὐτω MSS Platonis, ΓΝ Luciani.
4 Πλάτων[οσ: for the attributions of authorship see the introduction above.

3684. PLUTARCH, *Life of Lycurgus* 31. 6-8

13 1B.216(a)

7.7 × 14.5 cm

Third century

A small piece from a copy of Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, datable to the century after the author's death. Only three other papyri of Plutarch have so far been published: part of the *Life of Pelopidas* in P. Heid. Siegmann 209 (Pack² 1430), and two pieces from the same MS of the *Life of Caesar*, the first published by V. Martin in *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 138-47 (P. Genève inv. 272a-b; Pack² 1431) and the second by B. Kramer as P. Köln I 47.

From a calculation of the number of letters lost down the left-hand edge of the *Lycurgus*, there were 15 to 17 letters per line. After allowing 6 letters to complete l. 18, another 449 are required to complete the *Life*, which would amount to almost 28 lines. The trace of a horizontal mark on the extreme right-hand edge opposite l. 12 may be an ordinary punctuation paragraphus, but if it denoted the end of the *Life* or was part of decoration round an end-title (cf. XXXI 2536), there would have been 35 lines per column. (Above the mark there is space for 11 lines, and 17 lines of the 28 needed to complete the *Life* would have come below i 18.) The upper margin has a minimum height of 5 cm.

From Plutarch's own words in *Vita Per.* 2. 5 τούτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον συντετάχμεν τὸν Περικλέους βίον καὶ τὸν Φαβίου Μαξίμου . . . περιέχον and *Vita Thes.* 1. 4 τὸν περὶ

Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ Νομά τοῦ βασιλέως λόγον ἐκδόντες it is clear that the lives were published independently in pairs and that the *Life of Lycurgus* went with that of Numa. If there were 35 lines per column, the part of the *Life* preceding our text occupied 92 columns. Since column width plus intercolumnium is about 8 cm, the whole text would have occupied a roll of about 7.5 m. This might indicate that the *Life of Numa* and the accompanying *σύγκρισις* (together occupying 44½ Teubner pages as compared with 48 for the *Lycurgus*) filled a second roll, because a roll of nearly 15 m is outside the norm (cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*² 52-5).

The hand, a good example of the 'severe' style, is reminiscent of XI 1365 dated to the third century and containing part of a *History of Sicyon*. In both omega is usually placed high in the line of writing and there is a tendency for letters, especially nu, to be smaller at the ends of lines. The format of the two rolls is also very similar, but there is just sufficient difference in the forms of some letters to make it hazardous in a style so common to identify the two hands. In the present text, as opposed to 1365, alpha tends to have the lower left oblique nearer the horizontal, the two branches of kappa make a smaller angle, and most taus have an upward-pointing finial on the left ends of their cross-bars; 1365 has fewer finials and is a generally plainer hand. The hand and format of the *Life of Caesar* (examined in a photograph supplied by M. Claude Wehrli of Geneva) also bear a close resemblance to the present text, but the letters of the former are freer and too flourished for them to be by the same hand; the upsilons especially are different.

Punctuation, a breathing (l. 1), and an accent (l. 14) are by the first hand; iotas adscript are employed. The text is a reasonably good one, generally agreeing with the corrector of S. The omission of *καὶ γενέσθαι* in l. 1 is in the papyrus' favour, but *Κρητη* in l. 6, instead of *Κίρρα*, as well as in its rightful place in l. 10, is not.

The back is blank. Collation is with K. Ziegler's Teubner text, iii 2 (1973).

	col. i	col. ii
	τα] την τελευτην ἄ τωι	[
	θεο]φιλεστατωι και ο	[
	σιω]τατωι προτερον	[
	συνη]επεσε· τελευτη	[
5	και] δε τον Λυκουργον	[
	οι με]ν εν Κρητηι λε	[
	γου]ζιν· Απολλοθεμις	[
	δ εις] Ηλιω κομισθεν	[
	τα Τιμ]αιος δε και Αρι	[
10	στοξε]γος εν Κρητηι	[
	καταβι]ωσαντα και	[
	ταφον Α]ριστοξενος	—[
	αυτου] δεξικνυσθαι φη	[
	ειν υπο] Κρητων της	[
15	Περγ]αμειας περι την	[
	ξεν]ικην οδον· υιον	[
	δε λ]εγεται μ[ονογεν]η	[
	κα]ταλι[π]ει[ν Αντιω	[

col. i. 1-4 (ἄστ'—) τὴν τελευτὴν—συνέπεσε emblemata putat Fuhr iniuria.

1 τὴν: om. L. After τελευτὴν, και γενέσθαι L, del. Sintenis: γενέσθαι S.

ἄ τωι: so S: ἀτῶ L¹.

2-3 δειωτάτω, sed θειστάτω supra scriptum m. 2, L: θειστάτωι, sed δειω supra scriptum m. 1, S.

5 δε τον Λυκουργον: so L S marg.: δ' αὐτόν S text.

6 Κρητηι pap.: Κύρρα codd., cf. l. 10.

7 High stop almost above ν more like a dash.

15 Περγ]αμειας: l. Περγαμίας.

16 ξενικὴν: ξένην, sed ικ supra scriptum m. 1, S: ξένην L.

Dicolon to mark end of section of text but cf. single point in l. 7.

17 μ[ονογεν]η: om. L¹.

3685. PLUTARCH, *Moralia* 155 c (*Septem Sapientum Convivium* 12)

57/20c

9.6 × 8 cm

First half of second century

This small piece of papyrus containing the rather tattered remains of two columns of the *Feast of the Seven Sages* is of interest, firstly because its date is close to Plutarch's lifetime and so bears on the authenticity of the work, and secondly because part of the text occurs also in Stobaeus.

Doubts as to whether or not the *Feast of the Seven Sages* was by Plutarch seem only to have arisen in comparatively modern times—indeed, it is included in the so-called *Catalogue of Lamprias*, a list of Plutarch's works compiled in the third or fourth century. (Cf. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* 60-3 = *RE* xxi 1. 696-9.) But such misgivings have now, I think, been convincingly removed by J. Defradas in *Le Banquet des Sept Sages* 7-12. K. Ziegler (op. cit. 246 = 883) holds the same view.

The hand is a small, attractive example of the type called by Cavallo 'Roman Uncial', showing the deep mu and distinct serifs characteristic of the style. (See G. Cavallo, 'Osservazioni paleografiche sul canone e la cronologia della cosiddetta "Onciale Romana"', *ASNP* 36 (1967) 209-20.) The letters are bilinear except for phi and a rather enlarged epsilon in i 4. The hand bears a close resemblance to that of II 227, assigned by Grenfell and Hunt to the second half of the first century AD or the first two decades of the second. V 844 is of a more mannered type and is dated by Cavallo (pl. 4) to the late first century. Hands such as those of IV 702; XXIII 2354 (Cavallo, pl. 7); P. Teb. II 265 (Cavallo, pl. 9) and P. Vindob. G. 19797 (Cavallo, pl. 10), all probably of the early second century, support a date in the first half of the second for the present text. Such a date, then, makes this piece contemporary or almost so with Plutarch, who died some time after AD 120, and though not definite proof, strengthens arguments for the work's authenticity.

The second point of interest is that the part of the text in col. ii is also found in Stobaeus 4. 28. 14 (Hense; *Florilegium* 85. 14 in Meineke's edition). Obviously this piece is of too early a date to belong to the anthology which goes under his name and which probably dates to the early fifth century. Indeed, the reading χ[ρηματα in col. ii 2 (see app. crit.) rules out the possibility that it belongs to a source utilized by Stobaeus; in any case, our piece begins well before Stobaeus' quotation.

The one serious objection to the authenticity of the *Feast* is that when quoting this passage (155 c) and his other two from this work, 4. 1. 134 = Plutarch 154 D-F (Meineke *Flor.* 43. 131) and 4. 7. 47 = 152 A (Meineke *Flor.* 48. 47), Stobaeus does not attribute them to Plutarch. They merely come under the heading (ἐκ) τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν. (See Defradas 10-11.)

For other papyri of Plutarch see the introduction to 3684.

The top parts of two columns survive. From the number of letters missing between the end of i 8 and the beginning of col. ii and from the average number

of letters per line (varying between 11 and 15), it can be calculated that about 19 lines have been lost below i 8. This makes a total of about 27 lines a column. On the basis of 354 letters in col. i, between *κυ δε* and *τω*] in ii 1, the preceding 22,229 letters of printed text would have occupied 63 columns; parts, therefore, of cols. 64 and 65 survive. From the combined width of col. i plus intercolumnium of 5.5 cm an estimate of the length of roll preceding, but without regard to the protocol, would amount to approximately 3.5 m. The height of written area was probably 10.6 cm, with an upper margin of at least 2 cm. Two medial stops, in i 5 and 6, have been added by the original hand; there are no lectional signs. The lay-out of the columns and the calligraphic hand give a handsome appearance but the scribe has not always been careful in copying the text, e.g. the failure to distinguish *οικία* and *οικεία* in i 6.

The back is blank. The text is collated with those of J. Defradas, *op. cit.*, and of the third Teubner edition of Plutarch's *Moralia* (1974), i, ed. W. R. Paton, I. Wegehaupt, and M. Pohlenz.

	col. i	col. ii
	<i>κυ δε τα τεκτωνων</i>	<i>τω] ἰ' ὄρκειν [οικον</i>
	<i>και λιθοξωων [ερ</i>	<i>σου τα χ[ρηματα</i>
	<i>γ]α περινοστεις</i>	<i>μητε κτω[μενοις</i>
	<i>οικον ηγουμε</i>	<i>αδικια μη[τε φυ</i>
5	<i>ν]ρος ου τα εντρος</i>	<i>λαττους[ιν απιστι</i>
	<i>εκαστου και οικια</i>	<i>α μητ[ε δαπανωσι</i>
	<i>πα]ιδας και γα</i>	<i>μετ[ανοια</i>
	<i>μ]ον και φιλους κα[ι</i>	
	<i>θερα]π[οντας] ρ[ις</i>	
10	[
	[
	[
	. . . [
	. . .] . [
	. . .] ψ [
15	. . .] . . [

col. i. 6 *οικια*: traces of last letters insufficient for *οικεία* of MSS. Although the fibres are damaged, there seems to be no trace of a letter after them.

6-7 *και παιδας* A E: *καί* om. pap. et cet.

7-8 *χα[μ]ον*: so codd. plerique: *γάμονος* h v II.

14] . [*υπο]π[των?*

col. ii. 1 ἰ' stroke finer than in other letters; probably later addition by original scribe.

1-2 *αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἶκον, ὅπου*: so codd. plerique; line length of 11-15 letters allows nothing between [*οικον*] and *οπου*. *αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἶκον εἶπεν, ὅπου* unus n cum Stob., qui *εἶπεν αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἶκον*.

2 *χρηματα*: so O: *κρήματα* II Stob. The numerous other variants in MSS of Stobaeus contribute nothing of value and do not merit discussion. For corruption in passages of authors quoted by Stobaeus see E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (1965) 270 and O. Hense, *RE Ioannes Stobaios* 2583-4.

4 Above *α* traces of two, perhaps three, letters, the last possibly *ε*; they seem to be extra letters, because there is no sign of deleted letters in *ἀδικία* which they might replace.

3686. SOPHOCLES, *Antigone* 109-23

(ADDENDUM TO 875)

62 6B. 82/H(2-4)a

9.4 × 12.8 cm

Early second century

This text belongs to the same roll as VI 875 (= Pack² 1463), which has 242-6. The only other *Antigone* fragment is P. Mich. inv. 6585a, published by T. Renner in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 13-15, containing the ends of 297-308. The ten papyri from Sophocles' other complete plays are listed under Pack² 1461-2 and 1464-71.

The colometry of this new fragment is the same as that of the Laurentianus MS 32. 9 (L), and the text follows its readings so closely that it unfortunately contributes nothing to solving the textual problems of the passage. The antiquity of L's readings in each doubtful place is strikingly confirmed. The diorthotes who corrected 243 in 875 has also corrected *χιοι* to *χιοις* in 114 in a small, neat hand. On 243 the editors note that the two alterations have been made differently: in the first case by striking the letter through, in the second by cancelling dots above. This makes them doubtful whether the same scribe is responsible. Here there is a third method—the wrong letter is left completely unmarked. To me the hand of all three corrections appears the same. It also added to the right of 120 a siglum followed by no. 1 (see n. ad loc.).

An attempt to determine the number of lines per column can be made on the basis of the similar colometry in L. In that MS, where the number of lines does not match exactly the modern numbering, 109 lines precede the conventional l. 109, which comes at the top of a column in the papyrus. 134 lines separate this line from 242, which is also the first line of its column. No figure divides exactly into both 109 and 134, but the nearest result is obtained on the supposition that there were 15-16 lines per column, i.e. 7 columns before 109, so that the new fragment is col. viii, and 9 columns separating 109 and 242, so that 875 is col. xvii. At 15 lines per column the whole play of 1,353 lines would occupy 90 columns, and on a rough estimate of 11 cm for column width plus intercolumnium, a roll of 10 m—a good, average length. Rolls of this small format are often found in the early Roman period for poetry, e.g. the BM papyrus of Herodas' *Mimes* = E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, no. 39. These calculations by no means exclude other possibilities, because part of the preceding or succeeding column is needed for certainty.

There are no lectional signs but the first hand has marked the end of the first strophe

in 109 by a paraphrasis and has also used iota adscript (114). An itacistic error appears in 111.

The hand is an upright, well-rounded capital of medium size with some cursive elements. Only rho and phi break the marked bilinearity. The individual strokes of some letters, especially epsilon, sigma, phi, and omega are clearly visible. There is a close similarity to the hand of the scribe who wrote XVIII 2161, Aeschylus, *Dictyulci* (= *GMAW*, no. 24) and several other plays of Aeschylus (cf. Pack² 26), but they are not the same.

The back is blank. The text is collated with R. D. Dawe's Teubner text, ii (1979), with reference also to A. C. Pearson's OCT (1928).

κινησασα χαλι[νωι
 110 ον εφ[αμετερα][ι
 ορθεις νικεω[ν
 οξεα κλαζων α[ιετος
 ως υπερεπτα[ι
 λευκη[ι χιονι] π[τερυγι
 115 πολλ[ων μεθ ρ[πλων
]ιπποκ[ομοις
]υπερ μελαθρ[ων
]αμφιχανων κ[υκλωι λο-
 γηαι]ς επταπυλων στ[ομ]α
 120 πρι]ν ποθ αμετερων
 αιματ]ων γενυσιν
 πλησθ]ην[α]ι και
 στεφα]νωμι[α

φ σο. [

110 ον: δε... Πολυνεικουσ Scaliger.

α: not η: αμετερα AU: ημ- rell.

111 ορθεις: αρθεισ codd. δρνμηι in a hostile sense of warriors is quite acceptable, cf. e.g. *Iliad* 7, 162 τφ δ' ἐπι Τυδειδης ἄρτο, and Soph. *OC* 1320 Παρθενονατος Ἀρκας δρννται; but the only evidence for the aorist ὄρθην is Corinna, *Sufr.* 1. 21. So has the papyrus a *difficilior lectio*?

112 <ἐπόρευσε· θωῶς δ'> Erfurdt. Since the previous line is already long at 23 letters, the papyrus offers no support for a lacuna.

113 εἰς γὰν οἱ γήν] | ὡς ὑπερέπτα L K S Zc T R V A U Y Zf Zo. The papyrus supports neither Hermann's deletion of ὡς nor Dawe's conjectures, αἰετός ὡς γὰν ὑπερέπτα or αἰετός ὡς γὰν <τάνδ'> ὑπερέπτα. See the diametrically opposing views on the postponement of ὡς in Dawe, *Studies on the Text of Sophocles* iii 102-3 and J. C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles, Commentaries III, The Antigone* 55. Above ω part of horizontal line of ink?

114 Above and between η and ι large smudged letter, not by 1st or 2nd hand.

120 The siglum in the margin to the right is mentioned in K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary*

Papyri and Ostraca (BASP Suppl. 3), 105 n. 78. She comes to no definite conclusion about its meaning. If it is φ and ρ linked, I had wondered about φ(ε)ρ(ερα) followed by part of a lemma πο. [cf. McNamee, 20 for γ and ρ linked for γράφεται. φέρεται occurs fully written in textual notes in, e.g. VI 874 and XXXV 2737 fr. i 11-12. However, though marginalia are usually written to the right of the column in papyrus rolls and a paraphrasis is often used to mark the beginning of the lemma or comment (see ead., *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri* (Diss. Ann Arbor 1977) 19, 22, 30, 34-5), there is nothing in 120, despite the presence of ποθ, that seems to warrant a textual note starting πο. [Mr Parsons had wondered about φρ(αεισ) ποι[ητικῆ], but also suggested that ο or ε is attached to the right of φ. Nothing in the scholia provides a clue.

121 γενυσιν: over final ν smudge of ink perhaps concealing a letter.

122 τε καί T, silet schol. T, τε om. rell.

3687. SOPHOCLES, *Trachiniae* 258-69

(ADDENDUM TO 1805)

23 3B.11/D(1)a

Fr. 1 2,3 × 5,4 cm

Second/third century

Two more scraps of XV 1805. The hand is not that of the *Trachiniae* fragment published by J. Lenaerts, *Papyrus littéraires grecs* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 13), no. 5. No readings of any note. Back blank.

Fr. 1

αγνω]ς η[ν
 ερ]χεται π[ολιν
 260 μ]ετταιτιον [
]εινα[ι] πα[θουσ
 ε]φεςτειον [. . .] . . .
 πολλ]α μεν λογοι[ς
]φρευι. [. . .] ην[
 265 αφυκτ]' εχων β[ελη
]τοξου κ[ριων
 ελ]ευθερο[ν
 οι]νωμη[νως
]χ[ο]λο[ν

Fr. 2

. . .] . . .
 . . .] ην[
 . . .] . . .
 5 . . .] . . .

fr. 1 262 L. ἐφέστιον.

265 β corrected, perhaps from ν.

fr. 2 1 Perhaps ν.

2]: γ, τ or ζ suggested. γην or την in this vicinity only at 260 *init.* τήν Εἰρύεταν. But the traces in the previous line do not seem suitable for the first word of 259, στρατών. Possibly

287 αυτον δε κεινω]ν [

288 ρεξηι πατριωι] Ζην]ι.

3-5 Mere specks, surface stripped.

3688. SOPHOCLES, *Trachiniae* 1267-78

63 B.63/H (3-5)a

7 × 12 cm

Fifth/sixth century

This fragment has beginnings from the last lines, and end-title, of the *Trachiniae*. The text is written along the fibres; to the left is a margin at least 6 cm wide; the other side is blank. These features do not permit a certain conclusion as to whether the papyrus formed part of a roll or of a codex. Margins of this width are found in rolls, and indeed the dimension may be unrepresentative if these final dimeters were indented in relation to the trimeters preceding (cf. VI 852 fr. 64; VIII 1083; IX 1174; XVIII 2161 ii 1 ff.; XXVII 2452 fr. 1). If it was a codex, the blank back may be accounted for by assuming that the play was the last in its volume, or that the scribe left a page vacant before starting the next play, or that the blank simply represents an even wider margin (the width would be extraordinary, but not impossible: in Turner's table, *Typology of the Early Codex* 101 ff., there are one possible and two certain examples of margins of 7 cm or more, nos. 10, 16, and 28). The date of the papyrus alone may be thought to incline the balance in favour of its coming from a codex. If so, the width of the page was roughly 23-5 cm. One column per page, presumably; codices with two columns, usually written with a view to economy, have narrower margins.

The writing is clear and practised, of a sloping oval uncial type similar to that found in XI 1370-1 and in the Antinoe Theocritus (A. S. Hunt and J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* 19 ff.). It may be assigned to the late fifth or early sixth centuries. Brown ink is used. Lectional signs include a rough breathing (1268) and grave and circumflex accents (1270, 1271; 1274). Change of speaker in 1275 is marked by a paragraphus, accompanied by an idiosyncratic writing of *XOPOC*, in which the remaining letters are arranged in the angles of the initial chi (a similar form may be found at P.Ant. III 211 (b) 6, as corrected in CR 20 (1970) 87). To the left of the border which follows the last line are ink strokes which could, with some imagination, be seen as a coronis in bird form; but since this is unparalleled for such a late date, it is possible that the traces are simply some kind of doodle. Scribes are generally freer with their methods of marking conclusions than they had been earlier; see for example XIII 1614 (codex, 5th or 6th cent.) in *GMAW* no. 23.

Collated with the edition of Dawe (1979). The only point of interest is that the papyrus assigns 1275 ff. to the chorus. In this it agrees with K, against the few MSS which continue the lines to Hyllus, and the majority (including A) which offer a choice between the chorus and Hyllus (χορός τῶν ἐν Τυλλοῦ L^s). The agreement is not in itself significant (particularly since the dispute is patently an ancient one), but it is worth noting that K is the MS which N. G. Wilson has recently redated from the fourteenth to the late twelfth century.

ειδοστ[εσ
οἱ φυχ[αντες
πατε[ρες
1270 τα με[ν
τα δε[]
αιχ[ρα
χαλε[]
τῶ^ε τ[ηηδ
1275 ❖ λιπτ[ου
μεχ[αλους
πολ[λα
κου[δεν
~~~~~  
| | | | |  
|||  
| | |  
ca[φοκλευς τραχιαι

1268 What remains of the breathing is a shallow curve like a short-mark.

1274 τῶ is clear; but there is unexplained ink just before the right edge of omega, as if the accent had been allowed to trail down into the letter. In any event, iota adscript was not written on the line; it is presumably represented by the substantial vertical trace suprascript above tau.

1276 μεχ[; only the upright of gamma remains; lambda (μελέους Subkoff) not necessarily excluded.

## III. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT

## 3689. NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

62 6B.76/F(9-10)a

6.3 × 33.7 cm

14 January 226

A tall, narrow strip of papyrus containing a notification of death virtually complete apart from a badly rubbed area in ll. 4 and 5. The upper margin is 2.6 cm and the area left blank at the bottom is 13.7 cm in height; the left margin is generally just over 0.5 cm wide, but on the right the writing extends to the edge. Close to this edge in the upper half of the strip a kollesis is visible. The general proportions of this piece are similar to those of other notifications of this type, e.g. P. Merton II 84, which also has a hand of a similar type.

The most recent list of documents of this sort is by A. Martin, *CE* 55 (1980) 276-83, containing eighty-two items, to which must be added, as well as 3689, P. Vindob. G. 24749, see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 228-32, and XLIX 3510.

Aurelia<sup>a</sup>Ammonarous gives notice of the death of her full brother; both of them come from the village of Teis. Such notifications usually follow a regular pattern with slight differences between the various nomes. The text here, however, lacks the name and title of the addressee, a peculiarity which occurs elsewhere in death-notices only in SPP XX 36( = SB I 5136) and BGU XI 2021. It is probable that the papyrus is not the original document but a copy, since the subscriptions are in the same hand as the body of the declaration. We know that copies were made because four sets, each of two copies, survive: P. Petaus 3 and 4 and P. Philad. 6 and 7, one copy in each case being addressed to the village scribe and the other to the royal scribe of the nome; P. Mich. inv. 795 and 853 (*ZPE* 22 (1976) 56-9), of which the first was sent to the royal scribe and the second almost certainly to the village scribe, though the traces are scanty; and SB VI 9627 (a) and (b), two identical copies addressed to the royal scribe. All these are, however, from the Arsinoite nome, and as far as we know no Oxyrhynchite death-notices were ever addressed to the royal scribe, see P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil* 68-77, esp. 70. In a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome the addressee would normally be the village scribe; IX 1198 is in fact a death-notice addressed to the village scribe of Teis in AD 150. Sometimes other people whom the death concerned, such as tax-collectors, were also notified, see G. M. Parássoglou, *BASP* 12 (1975) 89. We have no idea for whom the present text was intended, but SB 9627 (a) and (b) show that an office did keep duplicates. The join of two sheets of papyrus on the upper right-hand edge and the omission of the addressee might at first suggest that this text was part of a *τόμος συγκολλητέμος* composed of copies, but in several places the letters extend over the join. Moreover, it does not have the serial number at the top of the column usual in such *τόμοι*, e.g. in BGU I 254, I 79, VII 1030, and SB I 5136.

The declarant here is a woman who has no *κύριος*; female declarants are by no means uncommon, although they do generally have guardians. In all the examples of the similar types of hypomnemata for *ἐπιγέννησις* and *ἐπίκρισις* given by R. Taubenschlag, 'La compétence du *κύριος*', *Op. Min.* ii 370, the women have guardians, but for census-returns there are women with and without guardians. The text then continues in the form usual for the Oxyrhynchite nome, see O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 111-29, and the discussion on P. Mich. X 579, with the name of the deceased in the nominative, his relationship to the declarant, his place of registration, which is usually the same as the declarant's, the date of death, an oath by the *τύχη* of the emperor, and the date on which the notification was made. The omission in Oxyrhynchite declarations, as here, of the deceased's fiscal status is equivalent to the expression *λαογραφούμενος* used elsewhere, and indicates that he died between the ages of fourteen and sixty and was hence subject to poll-tax. For the purpose of these death-notices and a discussion as to whether they were obligatory or not see P. Mich. X 579 and the references quoted there. An interval of two months between the death and its notification, as here, is quite usual. The text ends with the subscription of the declarant, which is often omitted, and that of an amanuensis, both copied in the same hand as the body of the text.

The back is blank.

παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀμμω-  
 γαρούτος Ὀρσεντίου μη-  
 τρός Cινθώνιος ἀπὸ Τή-  
 εως. . . . ὁ ὁμογενής  
 5 μου ἀδελφός, ὄντρο[. ]ς  
 γονέων τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνα-  
 γραφόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐ-  
 τῆς Τήεως ἐτελεύτησεν τῷ  
 ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει μηνὶ Ἀθύρ.  
 10 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπό-  
 μνημα ἀξιούσα ἀναγρα-  
 φῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν  
 τετελευτηκότων τάξει  
 ὡς καθήκει καὶ ὁμνῶ  
 15 τὴν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Cεονήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρί[ο]υ  
 τύχην μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι.

(ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκ(ρ)άτορος Καίσαρος  
 20 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐτυχοῦς  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστροῦ  
 Τύβι υθ. Αὐρηλία Ἀμ-  
 μοναροῦς Ὀρσεντίου ἐπιδ[έ-  
 25 δωκα καὶ ὦμοσα τὸν ὄρκον.  
 Αὐρήλιος Χαρήμων Κρο-  
 νίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ ἐξ[δυ-  
 ἴης γράμ(μ)ατα.

19 L ε 28 I. εἰδύιας

'From Aurelia Ammonarous, daughter of Orsentius and Sinthonis from Teis. . . , my full brother, being of the same parents, registered in the said Teis, died in the present year in the month of Hathyr. I therefore present the notification, asking that he be registered in the category of the deceased as is fitting, and I swear by the *genius* of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord that I have not lied. The fifth year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Felix Pius Augustus, Tybi 19, I, Aurelia Ammonarous, daughter of Orsentius, have presented (this notification) and sworn the oath. I, Aurelius Chaeremon, son of Cronius, wrote for her because she is illiterate.'

<sup>1</sup> XXIV 2421 70 has the only other example of the name Ammonarous.

<sup>2</sup> No example of Orsentius in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ὠθῶνιος*: form of final sigma anomalous.

<sup>5-6</sup> For the genitive absolute referring to the subject of the sentence see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 909-10.

<sup>11-12</sup> As far as it is possible to judge from the sometimes rather fragmentary remains of the death-notices published since XXXVIII 2837, the note on l. 18 there that 'the use of *ἀναγράφειν* in this context is, on present evidence, confined to the Oxyrhynchite nome, though its use is not invariable there, cf. I 79 and XII 1551 *ταγήναι*' still holds good.

<sup>19-22</sup> The form with *Εὐτυχής* preceding *Εὐσεβής* is not given in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, its supplement, or in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, 108-10, although this inversion occurs in the formulae for e.g. Caracalla, op. cit. 104.

<sup>27-8</sup> ἐξ[δυ]ίης: for the ending in -ης, which is common, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 132.

## IV. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

### 3690. CESSION OF CATOECIC LAND

### 3691. ATTESTATION OF SALE

26 3B.52/B(1) + (2) + (3)

92.5 × 22.5 cm

1 June (3690) and  
25-9 August (3691) 139

Both documents are written on a single length of papyrus roll and involve the transference between the same two principals, Sarapion and his brother Theon, of two separate pieces of property. The docket in the upper margin and the signatures at the bottom of the deed of cession show that these were the original documents filed in the archives of the registry-office together with other documents concerning Sarapion, see 3690 4 and R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>3</sup> 225.

The document on the left is complete and consists of nineteen lines in an enormously wide column of about 49 cm. Drawn up on 1 June, AD 139, it is a deed of cession of two plots of catoecic land, one of five aruras and one of two aruras, made between Sarapion and his brother Theon in the form normal for the Roman period. Catoecic land could not in theory be sold and so had to be ceded; its price was termed *παραχωρητικόν*, 3690 14, not *τιμή*, see Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>3</sup> 228-9 and n. 19, O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 26-8. A list of similar documents is given by Montevecchi, op. cit. 12 ff. marked by an asterisk (to which should be added II 273, XLIX 3482, 3498, LI 3638), and in *La papirologia* 211.

In Phamenoth 110 (i.e. 25 February-26 March) Sarapion, Theon, several other brothers, and two sisters, see notes on 3690 5, divided between them nineteen aruras of inherited property near the village of Taamire in the Thmoesepto toparchy. When, in 139, Sarapion wanted to hand over seven aruras to his brother, the property had first to be registered (3690 4). A person selling or ceding real property had to apply to the *βιβλιοφύλακες* so that the *ἐπίσταλμα* necessary for drawing up a contract could be issued to the scribe, see II 237 viii 36, notes on viii 31, A. M. Harmon, *JCLS* 4 (1934) 198, 228, and H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 247-8. If the vendor's title to the property was not properly registered, this would be set right before authorization was given. Property returns fall into two categories—regular *ἀπογραφαί* and general *ἀπογραφαί* in response to an order from the prefect, cf. the edict of Mettius Rufus quoted in 237 viii. Since regular returns were not repeated (Harmon 178), the question of re-registration does not arise here. The property must also have escaped the general return held for the Oxyrhynchite nome in 131, so that it had in fact remained unregistered for twenty-nine years, cf. Harmon 185. A similar remissness is revealed in two *ἀπογραφαί* of 148 (P. Yale inv. 222-6 in Harmon 135-40), where property went unrecorded for twenty-two years, if not longer, and also escaped the general return of

131, and in P. Bon. 24, where an ἐργαστήριον inherited in 102-3 was not recorded till its sale in 135. Sarapion's case shows again that delay in registration and even failure to respond to a general ἀπογραφή had no adverse effect on a person's property rights (Harmon 213-30).

From the boundaries defined in 3690 9-12 it seems likely that the two plots of land were quite close to one another, separated only by another plot under different ownership.

Although the right-hand side of the second document is missing, it is clear from 3691 3-4 and 14 that it is a ὁμολογία involving a sale made between the same two brothers. Contracts of sale in the Roman period were usually in the form ὁμολογεῖ δὲ δεῖνα . . . πεπρακέναι, followed by the accusative of the goods sold (F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* 109-11). Here, however, the phrase most likely to concern the object of the sale is the genitive πετάρτον μέρους in l. 5, and this, together with an antecedent, signifying a document or transaction, required for [. ]ν πεποιήται in 4 and the construction in 13, suggests that this document is not a straightforward sale but an attestation (ἐκμαρτύρησις) of a private contract of sale, closely similar to I 95. This, however, is the only parallel I can find and does not always afford adequate supplements; in several places it is more expanded in form than any lacunae in the present text will allow. Such affirmations of private contracts are attested also in e.g. IX 1199 19, 1208, XII 1562, but all these are referred to as being made by the purchaser and not, as in 95 and 3691, by the vendor. Moreover, the greater part of 1208 and 1562 is composed of a copy of the original contract. An ἐκμαρτύρησις was a public declaration and testimony before the agoranomus of a private document, see F. von Woess, *Untersuchungen* 2, 39, 319, and 334, and for a full discussion of the evidence for such publication A. B. Schwarz, *Öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Ägypten* 148-51 and now Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 129-31. Cheirographa involving the sale of landed property do indeed usually refer to subsequent documentation, which was necessary for registration at the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων (Schwarz, op. cit. 8, 151, and Pringsheim, op. cit. 385).

It is likely, especially in view of the reference to a third brother as a previous owner (3691 5), that the object of the sale is part of the same inherited estate as that in the deed of cession. By working back from ll. 6-7 and 9-10 it can be deduced that the property sold consists of an eighth of a farmstead and a quarter of some vacant lots of land. Sales of such small amounts of property are frequent (E. Weiss, *APF* 4 (1908) 354). The boundaries of the vacant lots defined in ll. 8-9 do not suggest that they were adjacent to either of the plots of catoecic land.

The layout of the roll is of generous proportions; the upper margin is 2.5-3 cm wide, the lower 8-c. 9.5 cm with about 17.5 cm of blank papyrus between the two documents. It is formed of four kollemata with a strip 5 cm wide at the right-hand end. The measurements of the sheets taken from the edge of one kollema visible on the recto to the next edge, not allowing for the overlap of the kollesis, range from 22 to 23.2 cm, see E. G.

Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 48, where the measurements of this roll are quoted. If the overlap is included, the measurements of the actual width of the sheets vary from 22 cm for the first sheet to 27.5 cm for the fourth.

The hands of the main texts of the two documents are different, the first being a rounded cursive, the second more sloping and rapidly written. On the back are seven columns of an account of revenues from fishing, already published as XLIX 3495, written upside-down in relation to the present texts. The heavy black strokes in the upper margin upside-down above 3690 are an amount in drachmas relating to this text, see XLIX, pp. 207-8.

## 3690. CESSION OF CATOECIC LAND

(m. 5) ὁμολ(όγηται)

(m. 1) ἔτ]ρου δευτέρου Ἀγτοκρά[το]ρος Καίσαρος Τίτου [Α]ιλίου Ἀδρια[ν]οῦ Ἀνωγεινῶν Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, Παῦνι ζ', ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(ει) τῆς Θηβαΐδος.

ὁμολογεῖ Σαραπίων Ἀδράστου τοῦ Διονυσίου μητρὸς Ἄρς[ι]γός Θεώνος ἀπ' Ὀ[ξ]υρύγχων πόλεως τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὁμογενεῖ ἀδελφῷ Θεῶνι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀγυῖα παρακεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ

ἀφ' ὧν ἔχει προσαπογραφέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐκτῆσεων βιβλιοφυλάκιον τῇ τετραδί τῷ ἑνεστῶτος μηνός Παῦν[ι] πατρικῶν κεκληρωμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἧς πεποιήται σὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀδελ-

5 φῷ αὐτοῦ Θεῶ[νι] καὶ ἑτέροις αὐτῶν ὁμογενεῖσι ἀδελφοῖς Δίω καὶ Ἀδράστῳ καὶ ἐτέρῳ Δίω καὶ Εὐδαίμονι καὶ Ζωῖδι τῇ καὶ Νεμεσοῦτι καὶ Διδύμη διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνημονεῖου τῷ τρικαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει

θεοῦ Τραϊανῶ Φ[α]μενώθ διαίρεσεως περὶ Ταμίρης τῆς Θμοισεφῶ τοπαρχίας ἐκ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρος κλήρου ἀφ' ὧν ἦξαν εἰς διαίρεσιν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου ἀρουρῶν δεκαεννέα τὰς τε πρότερον τῆς τηθίδος

αὐτοῦ Ζωῖδος [τ]ῆς κα[ὶ] Νεμεσοῦτος, ὡς καὶ διὰ τῆς διαίρεσεως ἀγγελῆμθησαν, ἀρούρας πέντε οὐσας κατοικικῆς καὶ ὠνημένης εἰ[ς] κ[α]τοικίαν, ἃς δηλοῖ ὁ ὁμολογῶν εἶναι ἐν' μιᾷ σφραγεῖδι καὶ τὰς πρότερον τοῦ κατὰ πατέρ[α] αὐτοῦ π[ά]ππου Διογυσιῶν Δίου ἀρούρας δύο οὐσας ὠνημένης εἰς κατοικίαν, ἃς ὁμοίως δηλοῖ ὁ ὁμολογῶν εἶναι ἐν μιᾷ

σφραγεῖδι, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γῆς χειτοφόρου εσορίμου ἐξ ὀρθογωνίου

1 ὁμολ 2 παῦνι, πό, θηβαΐδος 3 ἀγυῖα 4 ὑπ; 1. ἐκτῆσεων; παῦν[ι], ὑπ; ἧς; ἡ corr. from  
 ὁ 5 ζωῖδι 6 θεοῦ; ο corr. from α; τραϊανου 7 ζωῖδος; 1. σφραγεῖδι 8 1. σφραγεῖδι;  
 γῆς; γ corr. from τ; 1. χειτοφόρου

ἀρούρας ἑπτὰ τῶν ἐπέτε[ι]ζων τ[ο]ύτων [ἐ]κφορίων ὄντων τοῦ *Καραπίωνος*,  
 γείτονες τῶν μὲν ἐν μιᾷ σφραγιεῖδι ἀρουρῶν πέντε νότου ἐγ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ  
 ἀπηλιώτου μέρους *Απολλωνίου* καὶ *Κρονίου* ἀμ-  
 10 φοτέρων *Ἀδράς* [του], ἐκ [δ]ὲ τοῦ ἀπ[ὸ] λιβὸς δημοσία γῆ, βορρᾶ  
 [Δ]ημητριάς *Διογένους* τοῦ καὶ *Μνησιθέου*, ἀπηλιώτου πλευρισμός,  
 λιβὸς τῆς προγεγραμμένης *Δημητριάς* καὶ ἐτέρων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων  
 [ἐ]ν τῇ ἐτέρα σφρα[γιεῖδι ἀρο]υρῶν [δ]ύο νότον ἐγ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου  
 μέρους γῆς, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ λιβὸς τῆς προγεγραμμένης *Δημητριάς* καὶ  
 τοῦ ἀδελφίδου αὐτῆς *Καραπίωνος*, βορρᾶ τῶν προγεγραμ-  
 μένων *Απολλωνίου* καὶ *Κρονίου*, ἀπηλιώτου ὁ δηλούμενο[ς] πλευρι-  
 15 σμός, λιβὸς τῆς προγεγραμμένης *Δημητριάς* καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφίδου  
*Καραπίωνος*, ἢ ὑπάρχει τῶ *Θέωνι* καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ μεταληψο-  
 μένοις αἱ παραχωρούμεναι αἱ τῶ ὡς τ[ρ]όκειται ἀρουρα[ί] ἑπτὰ σὺν  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις τεμμίρις κ[α]ὶ φιλανθρώποις κυρίως τὸν πάντα  
 χρόνον· καὶ αὐτόθεν ἀπέχει τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα *Καραπίωνα* παρὰ τοῦ  
 ἀδελ-  
 φοῦ *Θέωνος* τὰς συμπεφωνημένας ὑπὲρ παραχωρη[τι]κοῦ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἀρουρῶν ἑπτὰ ἀργυρίου *Κεβαστοῦ* νομίσματος δραχμὰς τετρακισχει-  
 20 λίας πεντακοσίας ἐκ πλήρους καὶ μὴν παρασυγγρα-  
 φήσιν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα μὴδ' ἄλλ[λ]ον ὑπ[ε]ρ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν παραχώρησιν  
 ταύτην τρ[ό]σῳ μὴδενί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐ[πά]ναγκον αὐτὸν παρέξασθαι τῶ  
 ἀδελφῶ *Θέωνι* καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρούρας ἑπτὰ  
 διὰ παντὸς β[ε]β[α]ίαια ἀπὸ πάντων πάσῃ βεβαιώσει καὶ κ[α]θαράς ἀπὸ μὲν  
 γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς [γῆ]ς καὶ παντὸς εἴδους καὶ ἀπεργασίας  
 καὶ ὑδροφυλακίας χωμάτων καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου,  
 ὁμοίως διὰ τ[α]ντὸς ἀπὸ δε δημοσίων καὶ τελεσμάτων πάντων τῶν  
 ἔμπροσθεν χρ[ό]νων μέχρι τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῆ]ωτος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῆ]ωτος  
 25 δευτέρου ἔτους *Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος* τοῦ κυρίου. ἐὰν δέ τι τού-  
 των ὁ ὁμολογῶν παρασυγγραφῆ, ἄκυρον ἔστω καὶ προσποιησάτω τῶ  
 παραχωρομ[έν]ῳ *Θέωνι* καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ καθ' ὃ ἐὰν παρασυ-  
 γραφῆ εἶδος τό τε βλάβος καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χειλίας  
 καὶ

9 l. σφραγιεῖδι, ἐκ 11 l. ἐκ 12 ἰνῦπαρχεις: only left dot of second diaeresis visible  
 13 l. τιμίσις 14 l. τετρακισχίλις 14-15 l. παρασυγγραφῆσιν 15 ὑπ[ε]ρ; l. παρέξασθαι  
 16 ὑδροφυλακίας 17 l. ἀπὸ τε 18 l. παρασυγγραφῆ (bis), ἐπίτιμον, χιλίας

εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς [ἴσα]ς καὶ μὴθὲν ἦσσαν τὰ διωμολοχ[η]μένα κύρια ἔστω.  
 κυρία ἢ ἀπο[χ]ή— (m. 2) ἔτους δευτέρου *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος*  
*Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Κεβαστοῦ*—  
 20 *Εὐδεσβούε, Παῦνι* ζ. διὰ *Χαιρήμον* [ο]ς τῶν σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπιτηρητοῦ κεχηρημά-  
 τισται. (m. 3) *Καραπίων* ὁ σὺν ἄλλο(ς) ὑποσχόμενος ἐπηκολ(ούθηκα).

20 ἀλλ' ὑποσχ' ἐπηκό

(5th hand) 'It has been agreed(?)'

(1st hand) 'The second year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Payni 7, in the city of the Oxyrhynchi of the Thebaid.'

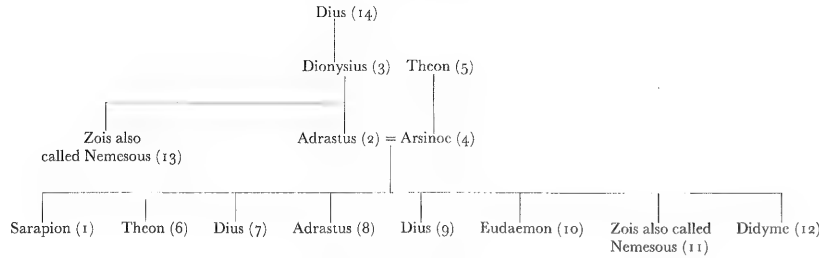
'Sarapion (1),<sup>1</sup> son of Adrastus (2), grandson of Dionysius (3), his mother being Arsinoe (4) daughter of Theon (5), from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, acknowledges to his full brother Theon (6) from the same city, in the street, that he has ceded to him, from his paternal property which he registered by an additional registration at the property-registry on the fourth of the present month of Payni, having obtained it by lot from the division made with his said brother Theon and their other full siblings Dius (7) and Adrastus (8) and the other Dius (9) and Eudaemon (10) and Zois also called Nemesous (11) and Didyme (12) through the said registry in the thirteenth year of the god Trajan in the month of Phamenoth, in the area of Taamire of the Thmoesepho toparchy from the holding of Alexon out of the nineteen aruras which they put forward for division from the said holding, both the five aruras of catoecic land and land bought for conversion into catoecic land formerly owned by his aunt Zois also called Nemesous (13), exactly as they were embodied in the deed of division, which the acknowledging party declares are in one plot, and the two aruras of land bought for conversion into catoecic land formerly owned by his paternal grandfather Dionysius (3), son of Dius (14), which the acknowledging party similarly declares are in one plot, making a total of seven aruras by rectangular measurement of corn-bearing sowable land, the present year's rents for these aruras belonging to Sarapion, the boundaries of the five aruras in one plot being on the south-eastern side the land of Apollonius and Cronius both sons of Adrastus and on the south-western public land, on the north the land of Demetria daughter of Diogenes also called Mnesitheus, on the east a side-embankment (?), on the west the land of the aforesaid Demetria and others; of the other two aruras in the other plot, on the south-eastern side an embankment (?) and on the south-western the land of the aforesaid Demetria and her nephew Sarapion, on the north that of the aforesaid Apollonius and Cronius, on the east the aforementioned side-embankment (?), on the west the land of the aforesaid Demetria and her nephew Sarapion; in order that the seven aruras ceded to him as above may belong to Theon and his successors with the other privileges and concessions lawfully for all time; and that the acknowledging party Sarapion receives forthwith from his brother Theon the sum agreed upon for the cession-fee of the said seven aruras, namely four thousand five hundred drachmas of money of the coinage of the Augustus in full and that neither the acknowledging party nor another on his behalf shall make any violation of this cession in any way but that he must deliver to his brother Theon and his representatives the same seven aruras guaranteed for ever against all risks by every guarantee and free from obligation to cultivate royal and estate land and from every taxation and from working on and inspecting dikes and from every other obligation, in the same way free for ever from all taxes and payments of previous times up to the present and including the present second year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. If the acknowledging party violates any of these conditions, his action shall be invalid and he shall pay in addition to Theon, to whom the cession is made, and to his representatives for any kind of violation both the damages and a fine of one thousand drachmas of money and to the treasury the same amount and nevertheless the provisions agreed shall be binding. The receipt is binding.'

(2nd hand) 'The second year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Payni 7, Registered through Chaeremon the tax-collector in company with others.'

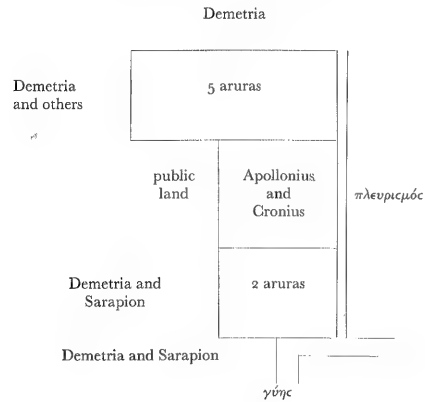
(3rd hand) 'I, Sarapion, having made an offer for the tax contract with others, have supervised the transaction.'

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in parentheses refer to the family tree below.

## The Family of Sarapion



## The Two Plots of Catoecic Land



1 Cf. 3691 r. The abbreviations heading both documents are by the same hand but one different from those in the main text. They provide a second instance of the entry in P. Mert. I 18. 1 (there written as  $\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}$ , not  $\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}$ ) for which the editors could find no parallel. (I am indebted to Dr M. W. Haslam for directing me to this text.)  $\omega\mu\alpha\lambda(\ )$  occurs frequently enough, but only in the subscriptions of documents and there in the phrase  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\eta\varsigma$ , cf. indices of abbreviations in P. Lips. I and P. Lond. I. A hunt through the lists of abbreviations has produced no additional examples published since the Merton text, but the suggestions of its editors, though put forward tentatively, stand up well beside the present text. The whole appearance of the abbreviation, especially the extended initial letter which they thought might possibly be omega and in my view certainly is, is so similar to those here that the hand must be regarded as the same. Since the Merton text is dated to AD 161, the scribe's career spanned at least twenty-two years from 139 to 161, cf. L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 15–16, where scribes' careers lasting thirty-three and thirty-four years are noted. It seems likely that the

abbreviation in both texts should be expanded to  $\alpha\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  rather than  $\alpha\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ ;  $\omega\mu\alpha\lambda(\ )$  could certainly stand for  $\alpha\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ , cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* I 2, 73–4 and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 275, 277, but the change of only the first omicron to omega required for  $\alpha\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$  to produce  $\omega\mu\alpha\lambda(\ )$  is less plausible.

3  $\text{Ζ}\rho\sigma[\epsilon\iota]\gamma\omicron\varsigma \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\omicron\varsigma$ . She is the recipient of grain in P. Lips. I 116. 5 (AD 133/4) and XXXVIII 2864 (AD 123). P. J. Sijpesteijn in P. Theon, p. 4, n. 14 thinks it 'highly likely' that she is a sister of Tiberius Julius Theon and Tiberius Julius Sarapion. However, as he himself says, the name Theon is very frequent at Oxyrhynchus and it seems to me that the coincidence of the father's name makes her relationship with this family no more than a possibility.

4  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\nu$ . The ink between omicron and alpha is most likely sigma, though smaller and more cursive than usual;  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha\pi\omicron$ - is conceivable but would not account for the ink. The prefix  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha$ - clearly shows that Sarapion had previously recorded other property; the new entry for Payni 4 would therefore be made on a sheet already begun for him in the records and not on a new one, see Harmon, op. cit. 177–82, M. Grdz. 101, von Woess, *Untersuchungen* 122, and Wolff, *Das Recht* II 226–7.

5  $\tau\omicron \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\gamma\kappa\eta\tau\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu \beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ . This phrase, though a great deal less common, has the same meaning as the usual  $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\theta\eta\kappa\eta \epsilon\gamma\kappa\eta\tau\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$ , see P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* 195.

6  $\tau\eta \tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota$ : Payni 4 = 29 May, three days before the present document was drawn up.

7  $\text{Ζ}\omega\iota\delta\iota\varsigma$  is probably a different Zois from the one mentioned in 6–7, who is specifically described as  $\tau\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . Since the division was of inherited property, it seems likely that here Zois is a sister included under the word  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ .

8  $\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu\eta$ . The trace of the doubtful letter is part of a vertical inclining slightly to the right, foot pointed, and after it there is a small hole. Space is sufficient for one broad or two narrow letters. Apart from  $\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu\eta$ , the only other possibilities from the NB for datives are  $\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}$  or  $\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu\omega$ , but neither alpha nor omega can be read. Moreover, a second feminine name after Zois is likelier than reversion to another masculine name. She is presumably a second sister and a twin of one of the other children, and is perhaps to be identified with the Didyme, daughter of Adrastus, who is attested at Oxyrhynchus in PSI V 473. 1, 17 (AD 168–73).

9  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \mu\eta\mu\eta\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$ : presumably  $\tau\omicron \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\gamma\kappa\eta\tau\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu \beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ . The  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  was therefore drawn up in the record office without the subsequent ownership of the parts of the property, at least in Sarapion's case, being registered.

10  $\text{Ταυμ\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta}$ . A new village name for the Oxyrhynchite nome; it is not attested in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi*.

11  $\text{Αλέξανδρος}$ :  $\alpha$  almost certain; 2nd and 3rd, lower half of rising oblique, mid trace, low ink to right; tail of 4th letter too elaborate for  $\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\varsigma$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\phi$ , or  $\psi$ ; cf.  $\xi$  of  $\eta\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu$  in this line. For a name of suitable length ending in  $\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu$  and beginning with alpha Dorsey-Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*, offers  $\text{Α}\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu$ ,  $\text{Α}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu$ , and  $\text{Α}\acute{\delta}\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu$ ; the traces are incompatible with both iota and hypsilon. This is a new  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$  name, not cited in the list by P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159–244. NB attests  $\text{Α}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu$  as a personal name only for the third century BC. (P. Petr. III 87a. 7, 15), but since the  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\iota$  still bore the names of the soldiers to whom they were given by the Ptolemies, this is entirely to be expected, see Taubenschlag, *Law* 619–20.

12  $\eta\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu$ . The stigmatic aorist of  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  predominates in post-Ptolemaic papyri, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 306 (1), Mayser, *Grammatik* I 2, 144, and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 290–1.

13  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma \epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$ . In the Ptolemaic period  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\iota$  of cleruchic or catoecic land tended to be created from land that was unproductive; in the Roman period such land,  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\iota\alpha \gamma\eta$ , was sold by the state and thus became  $\iota\delta\iota\omega\tau\iota\kappa\eta \gamma\eta$ .  $\Gamma\eta \acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  is the more usual term, cf. the examples cited in P. Giss. I 60 introd. (p. 28 n. 7) and P. Flor. III 331, but in the present document as in I 270 25 it was specifically intended to become catoecic. That this was not always so is to be supposed from P. Flor. 331. 15–18, where  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta \gamma\eta$  is distinguished from  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta \gamma\eta$  and  $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\kappa\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma \gamma\eta$ , and from 270, where three instances of just  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  are ranged beside one of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta \epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$ ; see also S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 3–5, 15, W. Grdz. 307, and M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* 90 n. 1, 104 n. 1, 114.

14  $\gamma\eta\varsigma \kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu \dots \acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ . Similar phrasing occurs elsewhere, especially in cessions of catoecic land, see e.g. I 45 10–12, 46 22–5, X 1270 25–6, XVII 2134 14–15, PSI IV 320. 11–12.

15  $\tau\omicron\phi\iota \nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega\nu \tau\{o\}\gamma\eta\gamma\omega\nu \{e\}\kappa\phi\omicron\rho\iota\omega\nu \dots \text{Σαρραπίωνος}$ . In return for paying the taxes for the current year (17), the vendor Sarapion has the right to the rents for the same period, see H. C. Youtie, *Scripturae* I 242–5.

16  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ . I can find only seven other examples of  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ : BGU VI 1270. 14, I 373, XXXIV 2723 12, XLIX 3498 15, LI 3638 12, PSI VIII 897. 69, SB XII 1 233. 32. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 36 and A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* I (1920) 191–2, both regard it as an irrigation channel, cf. LI 3638 12 n.

11 γήης. This is probably also a channel or embankment for drainage, see LI 3638 12 n.

13 *σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τεμίσιν κ[α]ὶ φιλανθρώποις*. In view of this phrase here and of *σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρη[?]||μέ[?]οις κ[αὶ] φι[?]ληθρό[?]τοις* in PSI X 1118, 11-12, III 504 15-16, *σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις σημο[?] . . .*] ὄψθ . . . ποῖς, should now be read as *σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις σημοί[?] καὶ φι[?]ληθρό[?]τοις*. In P. RyI. II 159, 15-16 *σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τε[?]μηρίοις . . .* . . . . *κνρ[?]ωσ* should no doubt also read *σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τε[?]μηρίοις καὶ φι[?]ληθρό[?]τοις κνρ[?]ωσ* and not as in BL I 389 and V 87 *τε[?]μηρίοις καὶ*] | *σημείοις*.

14 *δραχμάς τετρακισχειλάς πεντακοσίας*: i.e. 642 dr. 6 ob. per arura, which, although the evidence for land prices is scanty and haphazard, seems a good rate for catocic land at Oxyrhynchus in this period. Prices for similar land range from 150 dr. per arura in III 504 (beginning of the second century) to 800 dr. in PSI VIII 897 ii (AD 93). Freedom from obligations to cultivate crown and estate land and to maintain dikes (16) no doubt improved the value of the land.

15 *παρέξασθαι*. For future middles with aorist infinitive endings see Maysers, *Grammatik* i 2. 163-4 and Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 754 (2).

16 *κ[α]θαρὰς . . . [γ]ή[?]ε*. For the obligation to cultivate royal and imperial land imposed on owners of private land and transferred with it to new owners see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 78, 80, 510, Wallace, *Taxation* 20-1, and Rostowzew, *Kolonat* 200, 395.

*παντός εἴδους εἶδη* were a classification of taxes, probably originally paid in kind, see Johnson, op. cit. 559, Wallace, op. cit. 326, 332, 378 n. 42.

*ἀπεργασίας καὶ ὑδροφυλακίας χωμάτων*. Private landowners were exempted from work on public dikes because they had to maintain their *ιδιωτικά χωμάτα*, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XII, p. 11, n. 2.

17 The taxes mentioned here would include the *τέλη καταλοχισμῶν* charged on transfers of catocic land, see Wallace, op. cit. 232-3.

18 *ἐπίτευμον ἀργυρίου δραχμάς χειλάς*. For damages and fines see Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>9</sup> 326. Although fines vary considerably, an amount of 1,000 dr. is not uncommon (A. B. Schwarz, *Öffentliche und private Urkunde* 176) and is unrelated to the sale price, cf. e.g. PSI 897 ii 74-5 and 84, where catocic land is ceded for 2,400 dr. and the fine is 1,000 dr.

20 *τῷ σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπιτηρητοῦ*. For the use of *ἐπιτηρητής* to mean tax-collector see Wallace, *Taxation* 288 and H. C. Youtie, *Scripurae* i 368, ii 860. In IV 723 5 *διὰ Χαίρημ(ονος) τοῦ σὺν ἄλ(λοισ)* [should, on comparison with the present text and I 96 2-3, 26, corrected in BL I 315 to *ὁ σὺν ἄλ(λοισ) ἐπιτη(ρητής) ἐνκυκλ[?]ου*], also continue *ἐπιτηρητοῦ ἐνκυκλίου*, cf. XII 1523 3-4. Although the editor was unclear about the meaning of *διὰ*, 723 5 is probably to be supplemented further with *κερημάτιστα*. It is dated to AD 138-61 and a photograph shows that the Chacremnon of that text and the present one are the same. He also wrote the date-clause in 3691 14.

*ὑποσχόμενος*). It is clear that Sarapion had made a bid (*ὑπόσχεσις*) for the contract to farm the sales tax, cf. I 44 for difficulties over the farming of the same tax and XII 1432 5 for a tax-farmer with the title of *ὑποσχεάριος*. It may be that Sarapion and his associates were to take over the tax-contract from Chacremnon and company for the incoming third year of Pius and that they were permitted to have Sarapion in the tax-office to represent their interests in the period leading up to the change.

### 3691. ATTESTATION OF SALE

(m. 5) ὁμολ(όγηται)

(m. 4) ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄντωνεῖνου Σεβαστ[οῦ] Εὐσεβοῦς ἐπαγομένων . . . ἐν Ὑξυρύγῳ πάλ(ει) τῆς Θηβαΐδος.

ὁμολογεῖ Σαραπίων Ἀδρ[ά]ετου τῷ Διονυσίου μητρὸς Ἄρσ[ι]γῆς Θεώνος ἀπ' Ὑξυρύγῳ πάλ[εω]ς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὁμογενίῳ ἀδελφῷ Θεῶνι ἐν ἀγυῇ ἐκμαρτυρεῖσθαι

1 ωμο

διὰ τῆςδὲ τῆς ὁμολογίας [ἡ]ν πεποιήται τῷ Θεῶνι τῇ νε[ο]μηνία τῶν ἐπαγομένων τοῦ ἐνε[σ]τώτος δευτέρου ἔτους κατὰ χειρόγραφον πράξιν τοῦ ὑπάρξαντος αὐτῶ,

5 πρότερον τοῦ μεταπλαχότος αὐτῶν ὁμογενίου ἀδελφοῦ Δίου νεωτέρου, τετάρτου μέρου οὐ εἶ[χε] . . . ἡμίμου μέρους ἐπαύλεως ἐν ἡ πύργος καὶ περιστερεῶνες

ἀτέλεστο δύο καὶ ψιλῶν τόπων, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ ἡμίμου μέρους ὄντος ὡς δηλοῖ ὁ ὁμολογῶν κοινωικροῦ πρὸς μὲν . . . κατὰ τὸ ἡμιου, πρὸς δὲ . . .

κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τέταρτον, τῶν δὲ ὄλων ἐνγαλίων ὄντων ὁμοίως ὡς δηλοῖ ὁ ὁμολογῶν κοινωικῶν κ[α]τὰ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη πρὸς (?) . . . , ὧν γείτονες νότου πρότερον Διαδέλφου Ἀρπάλου ψιλῶι τόποι, β[ο]ρρᾶ ἔκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ λιβὸς μέρους Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ [Κ]ροῖου ἀμφοτέρων Ἀδράστου, ἔκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου . . . , ἀπηλιώτου

πλευρισμός, λιβὸς ἔκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου μέρους ῥύμη ἧς τὸ νότινον μέρος ἐστὶν καθ' ὕδατος, ἔκ δὲ τῷ ἀπ[ὸ] βορρᾶ . . . , τιμῆς τοῦ τετάρτου μέρους ἡμίμου μέρους

5 ἐπαύλεως ἐν ἡ πύργος καὶ περιστερεῶνες ἀτέλεστοι δύο καὶ ψιλῶν τόπων ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν διακοσμή[?]αν ἅς ἔκτοτε ἀπέσχεον ὁ Σαραπίων, ὧν καὶ ἐτάξατο ὁ Θεῶν τὰ εἰς τὸ ἐγ-

κύκλιον τέλη ταῖς ἐπαγομέναις τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτους. τῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ τετάρτου μέρους τοῦ ἡμίμου μέρους [τῆς ἐπαύλεως καὶ ] τῶν ψιλῶν τόπων βεβαιώσεως ἐξακολουθοῦσας τῷ Σαραπίωνι· ὁ δὲ παρέξε-  
ται τῷ Θεῶνι καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐ[?]ε[?]ακῆς γῆς καὶ παντὸς εἶδους καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου

διὰ παντὸς ὡς καὶ ἡ κατὰ χειρόγραφον πράξις περιέχει. ἡν ἐὰν συμβῆ παραπεσεῖν ἢ ἄλλως πως διαφθα[?]ρήναι, μὴ προσδεῖσθαι τὸν Θεῶνα ἐτέρας εὐδοκῆσεως ἀρκούμενον τῆδε τῇ συγγραφῇ.

κυρία ἡ ὁμολογία. (m. 2) ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ἐπαγομένων . .

7 l. ἐνγαλίων

13 l. χειρόγραφον

(5th hand) 'It has been agreed (?).'

(4th hand) 'The second year of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the . . . th intercalary day, in the city of the Oxyrhynchi of the Thebaid.'



'Sarapion (1), son of Adrastus (2), grandson of Dionysius (3), his mother being Arsinoe (4) daughter of Theon (5), from the city of the Oxyrhynchis, acknowledges to his full brother Theon (6), in the street, that he attests by this agreement the contract of sale executed by a note of hand which he made with Theon on the first intercalary day of the present second year for the fourth share which belonged to him and was formerly owned by their deceased full brother the younger Dius (9), of a half share which he held (near the village of . . . ?) of a farmstead containing a tower and two unfinished dove-cotes and (for a fourth share) of open lots; the said half share is, as the contracting party declares, jointly held with . . . in respect of one half and with . . . in respect of the other quarter; all the landed property is, as the contracting party similarly declares, jointly held with . . . in respect of the other shares(?); the boundaries are on the south open lots formerly owned by Diadelphus son of Harpalus, on the north-west the land of Apollonius and Cronius both sons of Adrastus, on the north-east . . . , on the east a side-embankment(?), on the south-west a road of which the southern part is under water and on the north-west . . . ; the price for the fourth share of the half share of the farmstead containing a tower and two unfinished dove-cotes and (for the fourth share) of open lots was two hundred drachmas of money which Sarapion then received and on which Theon paid the sales-tax in the intercalary days of the present year. The obligation of guaranteeing the same fourth share of the half share of the farmstead and of the open lots falls on Sarapion and he will hand this over to Theon and his representatives also free from obligation to make a census-return and obligation to cultivate royal and estate land and from every taxation and from everything else whatsoever for ever as the contract of sale executed by note of hand states; if it should happen to be lost or in any other way destroyed, Theon shall have no need of further concurrence, since he is sufficiently entitled by this contract. The agreement is binding.'

(2nd hand) 'The second year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the . . . th intercalary day.'

2 *ἐπαγομένον* . . . Since AD 138/9 was an Egyptian leap year and the sale itself was made on the first intercalary day, i.e. 24 August, the present document must have been drawn up between that day and the last day of the year, Epagomene 6, i.e. 29 August. The length of time between the sale and the attestation is here only a few days compared with three months in 95.

3 *πόλις* . . . , cf. 3690 3 and 95 6-8. The main doubt here is whether *ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως* is to be added after *Θέων*. As it stands, the supplement amounts to fifty-two letters, a length which makes it easier to fill some of the following lacunae than if there were another seventeen letters.

4 Cf. 95 11-14 and l. 13 of the present text for *χειρόγραφον* rather than *ιδιόγραφον*.

5 *πρότερον* . . . *νεώτερον* must be a parenthesis, cf. 95 14-16, so that *τετάρτον μέρος* will be the genitive after *πράσιν* of the property sold.

*Δίον νεώτερον*: presumably the *ἑτερος Δίος* of 3690 5, who had died in the meantime and left the property concerned to Sarapion. The antecedent of *οὗ* must be the *ἡμῶν μέρος* mentioned in 6 and 11 and from 10 it seems likely that *ἐπαύλευς* . . . *περιστερεῶνες* concluded 5.

*εἴχε* is probable, followed perhaps by a brief geographical description. The construction of 6 and 7 allows no room there for the mention of property other than the half share and the open lots and so *ἐπαύλευς* should follow straight on from *μέρος* in 5 without any other property intervening. This makes for the restoration of forty-eight letters plus a few more after *εἴχε*.

6 *ἀτέλεστοι*: a rare word in the papyri, occurring elsewhere, as far as I know, only in PSI VII 843. 15, assigned to the fifth or sixth century.

*ψιλοὶ τόπων*. The string of genitives running on from l. 5 is confusing, but the use of *ἡμῶν μέρος* in the next phrase without further specification and separated from *ἐναίων*, denoted on the contrary as *ἄλλων*, shows that 'the half' is to be taken only with the *ἐπαύλευς* and that the *ψιλοὶ τόποι* formed a complete entity.

*ψιλοὶ τόποι* denote plots of land usually intended for building; they are generally small in area (M. Rostowzew, *Studien* . . . *Kolonates* 11, 116, O. Montevicchi, *Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 30-1, and R. Rossi, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 42-56).

6 and 7 *κοινωνικῶν* and *κοινωνικῶν*. The open lots and the half share in the farmstead were held in *communio pro indiviso*, i.e. the joint ownership of property that was physically undivided, see P. Mich. X p. 22, R. Taubenschlag, *Laut* 242 and E. Weiss, *APF* 4 (1908) 353 ff. Since the quarter share now sold by Sarapion was once owned by his brother, the co-owners of the farmstead and open lots may well have been some of the other brothers mentioned in 3690. Of the half farmstead, one quarter is that sold by Sarapion and a second is the *ἄλλο τέταρτον* of 7; the remaining two quarters must be accounted for in the lacuna of 6 and the spacing together with the article used for the final quarter indicates that they were treated as one, i.e. as a half.

7 The restoration here must refer to the boundaries and to the owners of the other three quarters of the *ψιλοὶ τόποι* without continuing into 8. The last letter is almost certainly kappa and is not pi as e.g. of *πρός*. Unless the owners in 7 are the same as those in 6 and can therefore be mentioned more briefly, spacing will scarcely allow the remaining quarters to be treated separately.

8 [*Κρονίου ἀμφότερων* *ἑδράτων*. Cf. 3690 9-10, although this is perhaps a little too long.

9 Cf. 95 20-1. Space does not allow the expression parallel to that in 95 17-18, to the effect that Theon had taken possession of the property.

10 *δικερσίτων*. Sufficient remains to tell that *δικε(ε)λίτων* is not possible; it would, in any case, be too high a price for such small amounts of property.

For the supplement cf. 95 21-2 and 25-6, which is, however, more expanded. Since the word-division at the end of 10 guarantees the final part of the restoration, there can be no room after *Σαραπίων* for the longer phrasing of 95 23-4, e.g. *παρὰ τοῦ Θεῶνος ἐκ πλήρους ἅμα τῇ κατὰ χειρόγραφον πράξει*, or even for part of it. The *ἄφ' ἧς* of 95 25 cannot stand here because there is no room for the antecedent *πράσις*. For *ὄν καί*, 'on which' tax is paid, cf. e.g. II 245 21.

10-11 The *ἐγκύκλιον* was a tax, levied probably at ten per cent and paid by the purchaser, on transfers of real estate, cf. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 558-9, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 228, 234, 334, and 448 n. 60.

*ἐγκύκλιον*: possibly *ἐγκυκλείων* rather than *ἐγκύκλιον*. The *ἐγκυκλείων* was apparently the bureau connected with this tax, the *ἐγκύκλιον* the tax itself. Partsch, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Heidelberg* 7 (1916), Abh. 10, p. 41 n. i corrects *ἐγκύκλιον* in 95 26 to *ἐγκυκλείων* (= BL I 315) and is followed by P. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 34, p. 10 by Hurts and Edgar, *Select Papyri* i 32; cf. Wallace, op. cit. 449 n. 77, F. von Woess, *Untersuchungen* 138, 141 n. 1.

11 *τῆς* . . . This must be part of the guarantee clause, but 95 30-4 does not provide an exact parallel, because to allow for the completion of *-ται* at the beginning of 12, *πρός πάντων βεβαίωνων* has to be omitted. *-ται* looks like a verbal ending, for which *παρέξεται* suits the context. In other such clauses, cf. A. B. Schwarz, *Öffentliche und private Urkunde*, 175 and the examples cited in nn. 9 and 10, a person *παρέχεται* something *βεβαίων* . . . *καὶ καθάρων*, but here the two parts are clearly separate and constructed differently. Some phrase like *δ δέ* is required to link the two constructions. A future tense of *παρέχομαι* accords with the tense-sequence of e.g. I 100, a sale in which the vendor swears that he *has* sold some land and *will* hand it over.

*ψιλῶν*: only a small trace but not incompatible with the bottom left of the angular bowl of psi typical of this hand.

12 *τοῦτο*, i.e. *τὸ αὐτὸ τέταρτον μέρος*.

*ἀπὸ ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδράν*. If an owner made a false declaration in a census return, a quarter of the property was confiscated. By the guarantee here Theon was assured that a proper return had been made and that there was no danger of confiscation, see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 256.

*γεωργίας* . . . *γῆς*. Liability to cultivate such land fell on owners of houses as well as land, see Johnson, op. cit. 256, 510.

*παντός εἶδους* . . . Although I have found no precise parallel for this short combination of phrases, such clauses vary considerably, cf. Schwarz, *Öffentliche und private Urkunde* 175.

13 *μη προδεῖσθαι* . . . 95 35-6 has a similar clause beginning *μ[η] προδεῖσθαι τὸν Ὑσίλων [Γερμανόν]* . . . , see BL I 315, though the traces in 37 are still not comprehensible. The rest of the restoration here is based on P. Fouad 39. 10-11, which is also damaged:

ἄπερ ἐὰν συμβῆ παρατεσε[εῖν ἢ δια-  
10 φθαρῆναι, μὴ προδεῖσθαι ἐτέρας εὐδοκῆσεως  
ἀρκουμένη τῆδε τῇ ἐψ[δοκῆσει.

The participle *ἀρκουμένη* should agree with a word representing a person, see e.g. XLIX 3491 4. Consequently the easiest way to make sense of the grammar is to restore a pronoun and supply a missing nasal, . . . *μὴ προδεῖσθαι[ί] σε ἐτέρας εὐδοκῆσεως ἀρκουμένη[ν]* τῆδε τῇ ἐψ[γγραφή], '(if the former document is lost or destroyed, I agree) that you are to require no further concurrence since you are sufficiently entitled by this contract.' For *ἐψ[γγραφή]* in place of *ἐψ[δοκῆσει]* cf. XLIX 3491 4 *ἀρκούμενοι τῆδε τῇ . . . ἐπιγραφῇ*. The omission of a final nasal is a common phonetic error, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111-14. We also learn that the other party to P. Fouad 39 was a woman, possibly the Taysiris whose name I preserved in l. 1.

14 There is insufficient room after the date for the full phrasing of 3690 20. Perhaps simply *διὰ Χαίρημονος* *κεχηρημάσται* was enough.

## 3692. COPY OF A LATIN WILL

27 3B.44/J(1-3)a

16 × 11.5 cm

Second century

The beginning of a Latin will written in a fine Latin cursive but unfortunately containing only the *institutio heredum*; the interesting part, the disposition of the estate, is lost.

It is in the form standard for a will *per aes et libram*, see M. Amelotti, *Il testamento romano attraverso la prassi documentale* 111-90; A. Watson, *The Law of Succession in the Later Roman Republic* 11 ff. Before Severus Alexander's *constitutio* Roman citizens were obliged to make their wills in Latin, but few papyrus examples survive. Since the proper form of a Roman will was a codex of wax tablets, it is likely that all those on papyrus are subsidiary copies, see Amelotti, *op. cit.* 173-4. They are collected, together with examples on tablets, in R. Cavenaille, CPL Nos. 220-7, to which should now be added XXXVIII 2857, a Greek translation with remains of the Latin text; ChLA IX 399 = P. Yale inv. 1547 published by G. M. Parássoglou, *CE* 48 (1973) 318-20; P. Coll. Youtie I 64 (revised by A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 14 (1977) 59-64), and ChLA X 427, on all of which see L. Migliardi-Zingale, *Anagenesis* 2 (1982) 109-29. For an extensive list of other types of will, including those in inscriptions, references in literature and documents, Greek versions, and documents concerning inheritance, see Amelotti, *op. cit.* 10-73. CPL 221, the famous will of Antonius Silvanus, is also published in V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* iii no. 47; his nos. 48-52 and especially his Latin translation of the Greek will of C. Longinus Castor (No. 50) provide parallels and supplements for the present text.

The testator, C. Iulius Diogenes, leaves his property in equal parts to his three sons and their mother. The names C. Iulius Diogenes and C. Iulius Ptolemaeus occur elsewhere in the papyri, and there is a Romanus who may be a Iulius, see 2 n., but none can be connected for certain with the present text. In particular it is clear that this is not the Latin version of Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII 14, a Greek translation of the will *per aes et libram* of another second-century C. Iulius Diogenes. There is a possibility that a third-century C. Iulius Diogenes was a descendant, cf. XLIX 3498 1-2 n.

There is a wide left-hand margin of 4.8 cm to the main body of the text and a generous top margin. The initial letter of the will is considerably enlarged; ll. 1 and 9 are in ecthesis. There are two interpuncta, one to mark abbreviation in l. 2.

The hand is a carefully and evenly written one, of medium size with no greatly elongated strokes. Obliques running from top left to bottom right are the thickest strokes, but the difference between thick and thin is not especially marked. The only noteworthy letter is *d* in a form resembling a Greek alpha with an angular wedge rather than with a round bowl. A date in the second century AD may be assigned to the text. Good parallels may be found in P. Mich. III 166 (AD 128; see *TAPA* 54 (1923) pl. i-iv),

P. Mich. VII 439 (AD 147; pl. viiia, also ChLA V 301, R. Seider, *Paläographie d. lat. Papyri* i, No. 32, pl. XVI), and P. Coll. Youtie I 64 (AD 201; pl. xx).

The back is blank.

C. Iul[is] Diogenes [. . .] (vac.) [. . .] *testam[entum] fecit.*  
 C. Iulius Romanus et C. Iulius Diogenes et C. Iulius  
 Ptolemaeus filii mei et Claudia Tech[is] [ 11-12 -is-  
 5 *sima fem[ina] mater [i]b[er]o[rum] meoru[m] ex asse omnium*  
*bonoru[m] meoru[m] acquis[is] partibus mihi heredes sunt.*  
*ceteri omnes exheredes sunt. cerni[ss]q[ue] hereditatem*  
*meam unusquisque eorum pro sua parte simul ac sciet*  
*poter[is]tque testari se mihi herede[m] esse. c. 10*  
 10 *qui ex eis mihi heres heredesue non erin[t] testati, non*  
*mih[is] heres heredesue erint. haec c. 15 letters*  
*partibusue mihi heres heredesue erint c. 10*  
 15 *q( ) mih[is] h[er]es heredesue erint c. 10*  
*c. 15 letters ]. [*

## 2 C·IULIUSROMANUSET·

<sup>1</sup>C. Iulius Diogenes has made (this) will.

<sup>2</sup>C. Iulius Romanus and C. Iulius Diogenes and C. Iulius Ptolemaeus, my sons, and Claudia Techosis, (my wife?), most . . . lady, mother of my children, shall be my only heirs to all my property in equal shares. All others are to be excluded. Each and every one of them shall claim my inheritance in respect of his own share as soon as he knows and is able to testify that he is my heir. Whoever of them have not testified that they are my heir or heirs shall not be my heir or heirs. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Although the papyrus is partly broken between *Diogenes* and *testam[entum]*, it seems virtually certain that it bore no writing. The tops of letters would probably have appeared above the first hole. The spacing must have been used to mark out the first line as a heading.

<sup>4</sup> Α Ἰουλιος Ρωμανός appears in a list of names from Oxyrhynchus, which probably belongs to the second century, see P. Oxy. Hels. 21. 23-4. He is associated with persons called Caecilius Gellius—the papyrus has been examined again and does have these two *nomina*—and Iulius Gemellus.

<sup>5</sup> The supplements in ll. 5 and 6 seem to show that only about 13 or 14 letters are lost down the right-hand side. The words *fili mei* earlier in the line suggest that *uxor* (or *coniunx, coniuga*) *mea* is a strong possibility to begin the restoration. The Latin will shows that the testator was a Roman citizen. The *tria nomina* he gave to his sons in this solemn document suggest that they were his legitimate sons by a Roman citizen with the respectable *nomen* of Claudia. However, it is not absolutely certain to be so; compare H. G. Youtie, "ΑΠΑΤΟΡΕΣ", in *Le Monde grec. Hommages . . . C. Préaux* 723-40, esp. 728-9, 734-40, on children with no official father but with Roman names. This suspicion may be reinforced by the description of Techosis as *mater [i]b[er]o[rum] meoru[m]* (4), cf. *FIRA* iii 47. 22, 29, where Antonia Thermuth(i)a is described as *matri heredi(s) mei*, but carefully not designated as the wife of the testator, Antonius Silvanus, a cavalryman. If Techosis is not a legal wife, she might have been described as *hospita mea*, cf. *FIRA* iii 5. 4-5 ex *Arsute Luci fil(i)a hospita(e) sua(e)*, in a declaration of birth.

The presence of *femina* in what follows, *-is]sima femina*, suggests the possibility that the adjective is an honorific title rather than a term of affection such as *dulcissima* or *carissima*. Obviously *claris]sima* is impossible, because senatorial families were excluded from Egypt; *eminentis]sima* and *perfectis]sima* are extremely unlikely, because they refer to the highest grades of equestrians and do not occur till the very late second century. But

below these grand titles, lately studied by F. G. B. Millar, 'Empire and City, Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status', in *JRS* 73 (1983) 76-96, there existed other, less well-known, titles, which were applied to the members of municipal aristocracies, *honestus*, *honestissimus*, *splendidus*, *splendidissimus*, see H. G. Pflaum, 'Titulature et rang social sous le Haut-Empire', in C. Nicolet (ed.), *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* 159-85, esp. 180-5, S. Demougin, 'Splendidus Eques Romanus', *Epigraphica* 37 (1975) 174-87, esp. 182-3. If *uxor/coniunx/coniuga mea* is to be supplied and the extent of the losses at the ends of the lines is correctly estimated, see 4-6 n., something fairly short is required, e.g. *raris[s]ima*, cf. *ILS* II 6333. 3-4 *honestissim(ae) matron(ae) et rarissim(ae) femin(ae)*, *CIL* XIII 1898. 2-3 *feminae rarissimae stolatae*. The epithet *rarissimus* actually occurs in the fragmentary will of P. Dasumius Tuscus (AD 108), *FIRA* iii 48. 3 ] *amicus rarissimu[s]*. Without *uxor mea* the commoner *honesti[s]sima* or *splendidi[s]sima* might suit, though the restoration of eight or ten letters fills the gap less fully than the twelve/fifteen letters of *uxor/coniunx mea raris[s]ima*.

However, it is only the presence of *femina* which suggests this line of restoration at all and the line between terms of affection or respect and honorifics is not clear-cut. In a will it is perhaps more likely that a term of affection is what is required, cf. *FIRA* iii 48. 6 *filia mea p[ro]sentissima*, 51. 3 *τέκνα μου γλυκύτατα*, 52. 10 *ὁ ἐνοουερέτη μου γαμετή*, cf. XXVII 2474 5, 16, 30, 32. These last might suggest *benevolenti[s]sima* here, see the Latin version of *FIRA* iii 52.

4-6 For the supplements cf. *FIRA* iii 47. 4-9. We might envisage, for example, a further description of Claudia Techosis at the end of l. 4 and put *ex asse* into 5 (*mi[hi] ex asse heredes sunt*), but it is much more difficult to think of anything that could appropriately intervene in 7 between *cerni[ti]p[ro]p[ri]e* and *hereditatem*.

7-8 Cf. *FIRA* iii p. 148 and the Latin version of XXXVIII 2857. 5. The essential element in this clause should be a time limit for claiming inheritance, commonly one hundred days from receipt of the news of the testator's death. For its absence in a substantial number of the Egyptian documents see Amelotti, op. cit. 126-30.

9-10 I can find no close parallel; this gives the probable sense, but is short by c. 3 letters: perhaps *ei non*? Since *qui* is set out into the left margin, it is presumably the beginning of a section and the end of l. 8 may well have been blank. Otherwise one might have expected *quique* or *si qui*.

10-13 Close parallels for these lines seem to be lacking. It might well be that 10-11 should say that the heirs who claimed should divide the shares of those who did not, cf. *CPL* 174. 3-4, which refers, however, to the shares of deceased heirs. Against this *haec* suggests some version of the clause obliging heirs to execute all the provisions of the will, e.g.

*haec* [c omnia qua parte  
partibusue mihi heres heredesue e[r]int damnas sunt qui-  
q(ui) mihi [r] he[r]es heredesue e[r]int dare facere  
praestare idque] e[orum] fidei committo.

'All these provisions, in such share or shares as they are my heir or heirs, such persons as are my heir or heirs shall be obliged to give, do, (and) provide, and this I commit to their trust.' All the parallels, which are in Greek, though Latin versions are provided, namely *FIRA* iii 50. 13-16 (p. 149), 51. 6-7 (p. 155), XXII 2348 6-7, XXXVIII 2857 5-6, Latin 9, instead of the bare *haec omnia* have something like ταῦτα πάντα [δ εἶν] ταύτη τῇ διαθήκῃ μου γεγραμμένα εἶναι, and they do not specifically divide the responsibility. One may add that the Latin text of 2857 has *ea omnia* not *haec omnia*, though the rest of the clause is lost. Consequently this reconstruction must be regarded as far from certain.

13 The trace is probably the top of *e* or *s*.

## 3693. INVITATION TO DINNER

34 4B.74/O(5-7)a

5.7 × 5.2 cm

Second century

An invitation in the usual format in almost perfect condition. This adds yet another to the twelve invitations to the Kline of Sarapis already published, see below. There is a large bibliography, in which the latest items are P. Coll. Youtie 51-2. The formula here, εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Καράπιδος, agrees with nine of these examples, the exceptions being P. Yale I 85, εἰς κλείνην Ἡλίου μεγάλου Καράπιδος, and P. Köln I 57 = SB X 10496, simply εἰς κλείνην. The latter, however, is unusual in that it is the god who issues the invitation (cf. 3694). Three other invitations mention the Serapeum as the venue for the dinner. As in the majority of dinner invitations, the dinner is to be on the following day. J. F. Gilliam (P. Coll. Youtie I, p. 319) suggests that although the month is never actually named, the days for which the invitations are issued form a pattern: 10th (twice), 11th, 13th, 15th (three times), 16th, 21st, and 23rd. This invitation, for the 30th, does not fit the pattern and thus the dinner cannot have taken place either during a long festival of Sarapis around the middle of a month or during a later one falling between the 21st and 23rd. Nor does it coincide with a known Isis-festival as suggested by L. Koenen in *ZPE* 1 (1967) 125-6, nor with those given by R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit, Daten und Riten* (Beitr. z. klass. Phil. 5), 33 ff. The ninth hour, about 3 p.m., is the usual time for such meals.

The hand is a neat, upright, rounded one of quite small size written with a fairly blunt pen. It may be assigned to the late second century. III 523, XI 1363, XXXIV 2708, and P. Fouad I 76 have comparable examples.

Below the text are faint traces of letters which appear to have been washed out. The writing is across the fibres, as is the case with five of the other thirty-three invitations so far known; five others are written along the fibres, one on the back of two documents gummed together, while for the remainder the editors do not specify. A vertical fold is visible almost down the centre of the papyrus. The back is blank.

A list of invitations is given by T. C. Skeat, *JEA* 61 (1975) 253 n. 2, to which are now to be added P. Coll. Youtie I 51-2, 3694, XLIV 3202, XLIX 3501, an ostrakon from Medinet Madi in E. Bresciani, *Rapporto preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1968 e 1969* 91, no. 31, and P. Mil. Vogliano N. Cat. 68. 57, see C. Gallazzi, 'Invito a pranzo per la kline di Sarapis', *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* (Lugano 1977), 233-7. The text of the ostrakon is, as Sir Eric Turner pointed out, suspect. There is unfortunately no photograph, but the transcription reads:

πόρευε ὠκράτως  
διπνήσε  
ἀπὸ ὤρ(α)ς θ.

It has the names of neither the sender nor the recipient; the archaic ὠκράτως seems impossible.

ἔρωτᾷ σε Ἑρμείως  
 δειπνήσαι εἰς κλεί-  
 νην τοῦ κυρίου Κα-  
 ράπιδος ἐν τῷ Κα-  
 5 ραπίειν αὐριον ἡ-  
 τικ ἐστὶν τριακάς  
 ἀπὸ ὥρας θ̄.

1. I. Ἑρμείως 2-3 I. κλείνη

'Herminus invites you to dine at the table of the lord Sarapis in the Serapeum tomorrow, which is the thirtieth, from the 9th hour.'

### 3694. INVITATION TO A STRATEGUS

69/49(a)

12.4 × 11.1 cm

12 March 218-25?

This invitation has several features of interest. In the usual format, represented by **3693**, the addressee is indicated only by the second person pronoun and the function concerned is generally a private one. Here, however, we have a formal invitation from the inhabitants and dignitaries of Seryphis asking the strategus to a festival and to the celebration of a rhodophoria on behalf of the god Ammon. The formal nature of the invitation is reflected in the larger format when compared with other invitations, which measure usually about 5 × 5 cm and at the biggest 7 (incomplete) × 9.5 cm (XLIX 3501).

Among the thirty-three invitations so far known, see **3693** introd., none is of this official kind. Only one, IX 1214 (fifth century AD), has the name of the addressee, τῷ κυρίῳ [μ]ρν Μακαρί[ω] Γεννάδιος σπεκ(ουλάτωρ), but this is for the birthday celebrations of the sender's son. There are four other texts, I 112, BGU I 333, II 596, and P. Apoll. 72, which contain invitations, but they are in straightforward epistolary form.

P. Köln I 57 (= SB X 10496) is also sent by a god, Sarapis, but without any intermediary named. The present text clearly has two senders—the community of Seryphis on behalf of the god Ammon. The venue, though not specified, must have been a local temple of Ammon, which provides the fifth attestation of an Ammoneion in an Oxyrhynchite village, the others being PSI IX 1039 at Teis, IX 1188 at Peëno, XLVI 3275 at Senocomis, and 3292 at Nesmeimis.

A rose-festival, τὰ Ῥοδοφόρια, is mentioned in three papyri, P. Ross.-Georg. II 41. 9 (Ῥοδοφ]ορίοις), P. Heidelberg inv. 1818. 11 (= SB V 7551. 28 and VI 9127. 11: Ῥοδοφορίοις) and SPP XXII 183. 76 (Ῥοδοφορίο[ι]ς), all of the second century. Here the writing, which is much damaged, cannot be reconciled with Ῥοδοφορείων or even with Ῥοδοφορείοις, which would violate the grammar, but can readily be taken as Ῥοδοφορείας

(6-7). If this is right, the new word ἡ Ῥοδοφορία presumably means a ceremony involving the carrying or wearing of roses but is not the name of a festival.

For an extensive discussion of the rose in Egyptian religion and art and of the Rhodophoreia see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius, The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* 159-61, on ch. 6.

The date of the invitation cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, because there are attested two strategi called Aurelius Harpocraton, one whose known dates stretch from AD 218 to 225, the other in AD 278, nos. 77 and 101 respectively in J. E. G. Whitehorne, 'A Checklist of Oxyrhynchite Strategi', *ZPE* 29 (1978) 167-89. Palaeographical parallels, however, generally favour a date during the term of the former. A close parallel, though a little more freely written, is to be found in W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 47 (= P. Giss. 40), documents of AD 212-15 in copies probably not much later. The hand there is closely related to Schubart's *Kanzleischrift*, though not so exaggerated. The present hand has several of the same characteristics: noticeable hooks on the verticals of eta, iota, kappa, and nu and on obliques, and omicron varying between a tiny raised circle and an elongated shape made in two strokes often crossing at the base to form a point; alpha occurs in large and small versions. Such a hand influenced by the chancery style is appropriate for an official document, likely to have been written in the office of the village scribe. Other parallels are the upper part of PSI XII 1248 (= M. Norsa, *Scripturae documentariae* ii, pl. xviii), AD 235 and, though not so close, P. Hamb. 16 (= R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* i, no. 41), AD 209. P. Flor. II 120 (AD 254), which is also of a similar type, falls nearer the date of the later strategus.

The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀρποκρατίωνι στρατηγῷ  
 παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Σερύφω  
 κ[αί] εὐεργημένων. καλεῖ σε  
 ὁ φειλῶν σε θεὸς μέγας Ἄμμων  
 5 τῇ 15 τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Φαμενώθ  
 πανηγύρεω[ι] ὄψης καὶ Ῥοδοφο-  
 ρείας.

4. I. φειλῶν 6-7 I. Ῥοδοφορίας

'To Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus, from the inhabitants and notables of the village of Seryphis. The great god Ammon, who loves you, invites you on the 16th of the present month Phamenoth on the occasion of a festival and a rhodophoria.'

3 The εὐεργημένοι were wealthy and influential members of the upper class but did not hold proper official positions in the government. They often, however, seem to have worked with the local village elders, especially

in the provision of transport, and in some cases formed commissions with special duties covering a wide area. For a recent discussion of their role see P. Petaus 85 introd. (superseding F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 152, P. Warr. 5, 6 and n., and A. Tomsin, *BAB* 38 (1952) 524).

5 The specification of the day and the month rather than simply day together with *σήμερον* or *αὔριον* may point to a longer interval than usual between the sending of the invitation and the event.

The Rhodophoria in SPP XXII 183, 76 began at Socnopaeu Nesus on 6 February and lasted for thirteen days. By mid March the supply of roses would be plentiful. Compare the charming letter XLVI 3313, unfortunately of uncertain date, where the roses required for a wedding were not in flower.

6-7 *ῥοδοφορέας*. The damage in 7 is severe, but there is no real doubt of the first three letters, -*ρφι*. The last trace is the end of a horizontal at the level of the tops of average letters, very suitable for the cap of a final sigma. Before that the traces suit the lower right-hand part of the loop of alpha and the lower part of its oblique finishing stroke. There is no room for -*ων*, nor would *ω* = *ω(ν)* suit the remains well. Even -*οις*, against the grammar, would not solve the palaeographical difficulties. For the interpretation see introd.

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk shows that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. The article and (in the documentary texts) *καί* are not indexed.

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Μάρκος Ἀνρήλιος Σευήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (Year 5) 3689 15–17

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Ilerga (l. Ilerda) 3660 → i 11  
Ilergetes 3660 → i 12

illic 3660 ↓ ii 7?  
illinc 3660 ↓ ii 8?  
impedire 3660 → ii 3  
in 3660 → i 4?, 9  
inanire 3660 → i 5, 6  
i]ng... [ 3660 → i 3  
ingenus 3660 → i 4?  
ingredi 3660 → i 13, 15  
instaurare 3660 → ii 4  
instituere 3660 ↓ ii 11-12  
interrex 3660 → i 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24  
intestinus 3660 → ii 6, 7  
Ireneus 3660 → i 8?  
is 3692 7, 9 [13?], 19?  
Iulius, C. Iulius Diogenes, f. of C. Iulius Romanus,  
C. Iulius Diogenes and C. Iulius Ptolemaeus, h. of  
Claudia Techosis 3692 1  
Iulius, C. Iulius Diogenes, s. of C. Iulius Diogenes  
and Claudia Techosis 3692 2  
Iulius, C. Iulius Ptolemaeus, s. of C. Iulius Diogenes  
and Claudia Techosis 3692 2-3  
Iulius, C. Iulius Romanus, s. of C. Iulius Diogenes  
and Claudia Techosis 3692 2

laccessere 3660 → iii 7  
Lachesis 3660 → iii 2?  
lascivus 3660 → iii 8  
lat. 3660 → ii 13  
Leocrates 3660 → iii 6?  
liberi 3692 4  
lilium 3660 → iii 19?  
Lillybaeum 3660 → ii 18, 19?  
Lillybaeus 3660 → ii 19?  
Lipara 3660 → ii 8  
Liparensis 3660 → ii 9  
longi. [ 3660 → ii 20  
longinquus 3660 → ii 21?  
ly. [ 3660 → iii 14  
lu. [ 3660 → iii 9  
lucratiuus 3660 → ii 15  
lucrum 3660 → ii 14  
ludus 3660 → ii 16  
lug. [ 3660 → iii 10  
lugubris 3660 → ii 17  
lustrum 3660 → iii 11?  
lymphaticus 3660 → ii 10, 11

mare 3660 ↓ i 17?  
mater 3692 4  
meus 3692 3, [3?], 4, 5, 7

non 3692 9, [9?]

omnis 3692 [4?], 6, [10?]

pars 3692 5, 7?, [10?], 11  
pavor 3660 → ii 11  
posse 3692 8  
praestare [3692 13?]  
pro 3692 7?  
proficisci 3660 → i 10  
prouincia 3660 → i 9, 13-14, 15-16  
Ptolemaeus, C. Iulius, s. of C. Iulius Diogenes and  
Claudia Techosis 3692 2-3

-que 3692 6?, 8, [13?]  
qui 3692 10?  
quis 3692 9  
quisquis 3692 11-12?

rarus 3692 3-4?  
relinquere 3660 ↓ ii 14  
Romanus, C. Iulius, s. of C. Iulius Diogenes and  
Claudia Techosis 3692 2

scire [3692 7?]  
scribere 3660 ↓ ii 13  
se 3692 8  
simul [3692 7?]  
splendidus 3692 3-4?  
suus 3692 7

Techosis, Claudia, m. of C. Iulius Romanus, C.  
Iulius Diogenes, and C. Iulius Ptolemaeus, w. of  
C. Iulius Diogenes 3692 3  
testamentum 3692 1  
testari 3692 8, 9  
Transalpinus 3660 ↓ i 21

-ue 3692 9, 10, 11 (bis), 12  
unusquisque 3692 7  
uxor [3692 3?]





Fragment 3651 (top):  
...ΝΟΝ ΕΣΤΟ  
...Ν ΤΡΕ ΣΑΘ  
...ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥ  
...ΕΡΕΜΟΦΟΝΤΕ  
...ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΗΝ  
...ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙ  
...Η ΝΕΚΡΟΝ  
...ΤΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΧ  
...ΤΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΧ

3651

Fragment 3653 fr. 1 (top):  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

3653 fr. 1

Fragment 3653 fr. 1 (middle):  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

Fragment 3654 (left):  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

2

Fragment 3654 (middle):  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

3

Fragment 3654 (right):  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

5

Fragment 3654 (far right):  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

6

Fragment 3654 (bottom right):  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ  
...ΝΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ

7

3654

Fragment of ancient Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of characters in a cursive hand.

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing several lines of characters in a cursive hand, possibly a different dialect or script.

3654

8

9

3655

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing a few characters.

10

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing a few characters.

12

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing several lines of characters in a cursive hand.

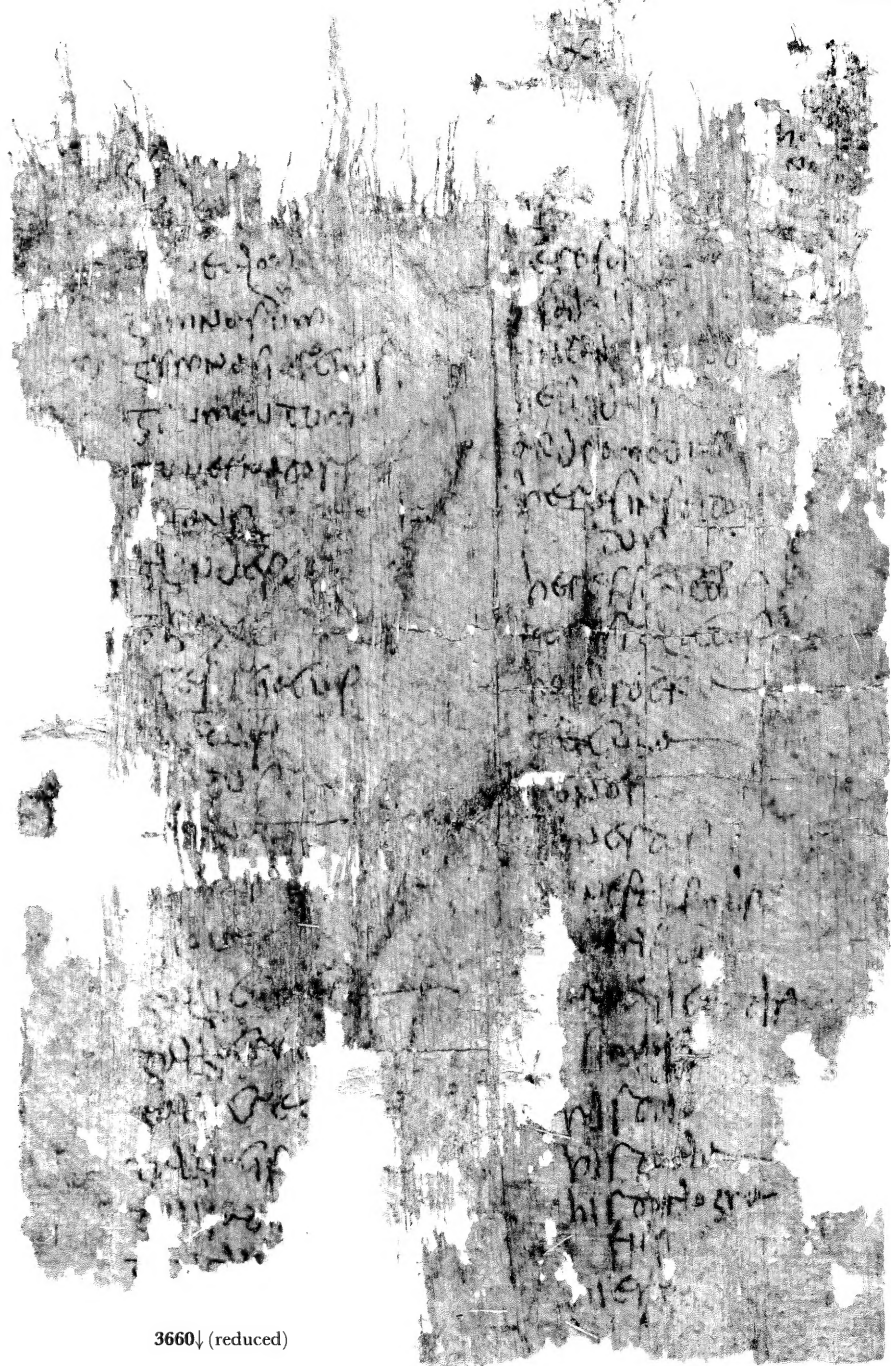
Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing several lines of characters in a cursive hand.

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing several lines of characters in a cursive hand.

3658







3660↓ (reduced)



[Fragment of ancient Greek text, heavily damaged and partially obscured by a dark, irregular stain. The text is written in a cursive hand and appears to be a list or a series of entries.]

3692

[Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing several lines of a list or account. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by a dark, irregular stain.]

3694